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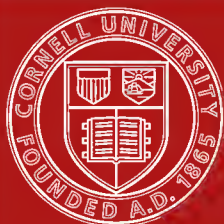
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271 NEW YORK: Miler (Rev. John) A Description of the Province and City of New York; with Plans of the City and Several Forts, as they existed in the Year 1695. Now first printed from the original manuscript, to which is added a catalogue of an extensive collection of books relating to America, on sale by the publisher. London, 1843. 8vo, with large folded maps, pp. 115, boards, uncut. \$5.00





A  
DESCRIPTION  
OF  
THE PROVINCE AND CITY  
OF  
NEW YORK;  
WITH  
PLANS OF THE CITY AND SEVERAL FORTS  
AS THEY EXISTED IN THE YEAR 1695.

BY JOHN MILLER.

—  
A NEW EDITION WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND COPIOUS HISTORICAL NOTES.

BY JOHN GILMARY SHEA, LL. D.,

MEMBER OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

"Here lofty trees, to ancient song unknown,  
The noble sons of potent heat and floods,  
Proce-rushing from the clouds, rear high to Heaven  
Their thorny stems; and broad around them throw  
Meridian gloom. Here, in eternal prime,  
Unnumber'd fruits, of keen, delicious taste  
And vital spirit, drink amid the cliffs,  
And burning sands that bank the shrubby vales."—THOMSON.

"It is from the bosom of colonies that civil liberty nearly in all ages has set forth; Greece had no Solon till the colonies of Asia Minor had attaloid their highest degree of splendor; and while the parent country could only boast of a single legislator, whose object was only to form citizens, and not merely warriors, nearly every colony of Greece and Sicily possessed its Zallucus or Charondas. In this way indeed, every commercial state may be said to live again in the colonies it has founded. And though Europe should again experience the dreadful misfortune to sink under the yoke of despotism or anarchy, into the gloomy horrors of barbarism, Providence has provided for its re-birth, by scattering the seeds of civilization over every part of the globe; exhibiting in our day the astonishing spectacle, never before displayed, of ripened civilization in one part, while in others it is yet in blossom, or only pushing forth its earliest buds."..... A. H. L. HSAEN.



NEW YORK:  
WILLIAM GOWANS.

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1862.

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J. MUNSELL, PRINTER,  
ALBANY.

DEDICATED  
TO  
THE MEMORY  
OF  
JOHN JAY.



## ADVERTISEMENT.

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The subscriber announces to the public, that he intends publishing a series of works, relating to the history, literature, biography, antiquities and curiosities of the Continent of America. To be entitled

### GOWANS' BIBLIOTHECA AMERICANA.

The books to form this collection, will chiefly consist of reprints from old and scarce works, difficult to be produced in this country, and often also of very rare occurrence in Europe; occasionally an original work will be introduced into the series, designed to throw light upon some obscure point of American history, or to elucidate the biography of some of the distinguished men of our land. Faithful reprints of every work published will be given to the public; nothing will be added, except in the way of notes, or introduction, which will be presented entirely distinct from the body of the work. They will be brought out in the best style, both as to the type, press work and paper, and in such a manner as to make them well worthy a place in any gentleman's library.

A part will appear about once every six months, or oftener, if the public taste demand it; each part forming an entire work, either an original production, or a reprint of some valuable, and at the same time scarce tract. From eight or twelve parts will form a handsome octavo volume, which the publisher is well assured, will be esteemed entitled to a high rank in every collection of American history and literature.

Should reasonable encouragement be given, the whole collection may in the course of no long period of time become not less voluminous, and quite as valuable to the student in American history, as the celebrated Harleian Miscellany is now to the student and lover of British historical antiquities.

W. GOWANS, *Publisher.*



## INTRODUCTION.

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The following description of the City and Colony of New York carries us back one hundred and sixty-six years to the day when William III ruled the destinies of the English nation. Its author, the Rev. John Miller, was for a time chaplain to the troops in the fort, and sole Episcopal clergyman in the colony. Beyond the account here given, and which he addressed to Henry Compton, Bishop of London, we have few data for his history. He was a graduate of one of the English universities, and was commissioned chaplain to two companies of Grenadiers in the Colony of New York, March 7, 1691-2. He arrived here in 1693, and as an act was passed that year for settling a ministry, he, in February, 1694, claimed a right to be inducted, but the Council decided against his pretensions. He left the colony apparently, June 1, 1695, and was taken in July by a French privateer, destroying his papers to avoid giving information to the enemy. His present account was therefore drawn up from recollection, and in fact is more taken up with a most extraordinary plan of civil and ecclesiastical government than with a detailed description of the colony in which he had sojourned. After his return to England he applied to the Commissioners of Trade and Plantation for additional salary, but did not succeed in obtaining anything. A short note of information

furnished by him to the Board at the time is given in the Appendix.

Mr. Miller's Description, with its curious map and plans, found its way from the archives of the Bishops of London to the hands of George Chalmers the historian, and on the dispersion of his library fell into the hands of Thomas Rodd, a London bookseller, who published it in 1843. Since then the original manuscript has been added to the treasures in the British Museum.

Of Mr. Miller's earlier or later history I know nothing, and admit that I was deterred from seeking a clue for research by the slight results attained by Dr. O'Callaghan in his endeavors to investigate the history of Mr. Miller's predecessor in the chaplaincy, the Rev. Mr. Wolley. As connected with his history, however, we add his commission and the accompanying papers from the archives of the state.

New York at this period had just emerged from a civil war, that had been most disastrous to its prosperity. Submitting readily to the rule of William and Mary, it had seen the regular authorities overthrown by the ignorant and deluded or ambitious Leisler; whose sway, recognized in New York and on Long Island, was resisted at Albany, but who by stimulating the Iroquois to attack the French in Canada had contributed to the fearful slaughter of Lachine, and thus drawn on the exposed frontiers of New York the vengeance of the enemy, which soon laid Schenectady in ashes, and repeated on a diminished scale the horrors of Lachine. The terror inspired by this, the civil war existing and the oppressive measures of Leisler drove many from the colony, and it was fast declining, when Sloughter arrived, and his summary disposal of the usurper in turn made others deem flight a necessary precaution.



The Colony of New York had been the private property of James II as Duke of York, under the grant from his brother, and on his accession to the throne became an apannage of the crown, and subsequent monarchs so held it down to the close of the Revolution, when George III wished it to be so regarded.

During the period of James's actual possession of the territory, New York had been transformed into an English colony, a code of laws, compiled chiefly from those in force in New England, had been introduced, New York and Albany been incorporated, and finally a legislature assembled, which passed a bill of rights securing the liberties of the subject and granting free toleration to all Christians.

The acts of this legislature had been ignored by that convened under William III, and a resolution passed declaring them of no force. A new bill of rights, less generous indeed, was too full of dangerous ideas to meet the new champion of liberty, although it did not contain the "evil egg of toleration." The colony, when Miller came here, was divided into two parties, the Leislerian and Anti-Leislerian. Fletcher had identified himself with the latter, but the former had just succeeded in obtaining an act of parliament of a most false preamble, reversing the sentence on Leisler, and were to consummate their triumph by the king's appointment of Richard, Earl of Bellamont, as Governor, in place of Fletcher, whose extravagant grants of land afforded a good pretext for his removal.

New York city at this time was, as Miller's map shows, confined almost altogether to the part of the island below Wall street, where a palisade ran across the island, with stone bastions at Broadway and William street. A fort and a battery on the site of our present Battery, recently laid out by Fletcher, defended the city on the south, and other bat-

teries and block houses on the river sides. The population was about four thousand, one-eighth being slaves. Yet the commerce was so considerable that in 1696, the year when Miller reached England, forty square-rigged vessels, sixty-two sloops, and as many boats, were entered at the New York custom house.

Bradford had just introduced printing in 1693, and in this very year, 1695, was printing the first New York Almanac for John Clapp, who is entitled to the honor of introducing hackney coaches into the city. A Dutch church had just been erected in Garden street, called Church street for that reason on Miller's map, although many a one yet remembers the time when it bore its earlier name. The Episcopalians were preparing to erect a church for themselves, and Miller advised the site of the bastion at the corner of Wall and William as the spot, but it was begun on the ground intended by Dongan for a Jesuit college, and next appropriated as a burial ground, the present site of Trinity.

New York possessed conveniences. It had its regular ferry to Brooklyn; its post to Philadelphia. Wells, to the number of a dozen, stood in the middle of the street in various parts and before the Fort, and the Stadt House, New York's first city hall, school house and court house. Provision was made for the prevention of fires, by leathern buckets, a system introduced in 1658, and of which at this time every house with three fireplaces was required to have two, brewers six, and bakers three, under penalty of a fine of six shillings.

Other improvements were talked of and introduced within a few years. Before the close of the century, Broad street was drained by a sewer, the residents on Broadway set out trees by consent of the Common Council,

and every seventh house on the street hung out its lanthorn and candle on a pole, the expense of which was shared by all ; Maiden lane and Garden street were laid out, a night watch of twelve men appointed, and a city livery of blue with orange list adopted.

In that day thirty volumes, including a couple of Bibles, was a large private library; and William Merritt, no friend to Leisler, was Mayor.

On the Hudson, Kingston, encircled with its palisade, was the chief place before you reached Albany, which then reached from Hudson street to Steuben on Broadway, and from the river west to Lodge street, where the old fort stood, Handlers' (that is Traders') street being the present Broadway. Dr. Dellius had his church commanding Broadway and Joncaer or State street, the fort being at the opposite end. Outside the city stockade were the Indian houses, where the Indians who came to trade or treat remained, and these were kept in repair at the expense of the traders.

The streets of Albany were not in very good condition, and the bridges, especially "the great bridge by Majr. Schuyler," was sadly out of repair, and the new stockades were not up; but the Common Council were taking steps to set all this right, removing houses too near the stockade, and digging a public well on Jonker street for the general good.

Albany had suffered greatly during the troubles, the number of men had fallen from 662 in 1689 to 382 in 1697, and the whole population from 2016 to 1449.

Schenectady had risen from its ruins, and now well defended was less fearful of a visitation.

Such was the colony as Miller left it, and his Description will bring it more fully before the reader. The moral tone

was not what he desired, and he lays the lash on the prevalent vices with an unsparing hand. In his eyes the great want was the establishment of the Church of England, and his proposal of bishops is one of the earliest allusions to the step, which, natural and just wherever the Episcopalians were at all numerous, was strangely opposed by the people of New England, who insisted that their fellow Christians, the Episcopalians, should not have their church organization in America, and insisted so violently and intolerantly that many Episcopalians cowered under the storm of their fanaticism, and for peacesake endeavored to prevent any appointment. The Revolution alone freed the Episcopalians from this tyrannical interference of their neighbors. Had Miller's plan been set forward by Government, there might have been some pretext for their conduct.

Another theme of the Chaplain is the conquest of Canada; but here the same feeling of New England was shown towards the Catholics of Canada. They were not to profess or enjoy their religion at all. From the period of which we write to the year 1763 New England and New York sought the subjugation of Canada, mainly and chiefly to overthrow the Catholic religion. Miller's plan of extermination was thorough, and was doubtless that formed in the minds of most men in the northern colonies. Yet strange ordering of Providence, the blood of New England was poured out with this view, but left conquered Canada in the enjoyment of the religious liberty of which they wished to deprive her; and then the uprising against the Quebec act brought religious freedom at last to all the colonies, and the war which some consider as beginning with the attempt to prevent Episcopalians from having bishops beheld in its course the selectmen of Boston following

vested Catholic clergymen through the streets, and soon after the close of the war, not only a bishop among the Episcopalians at Boston, but even one of the Catholics, and that one respected and beloved.

It will not be uninteresting to view the progress of New York from Miller's day to ours, and to give some picture of the city at present. To begin with the city, the following table will show its increase in population :

1696,....	4,302	1793,....	33,131	1835,....	270,068
1731,....	8,628	1800,....	60,489	1840,....	312,852
1756,....	10,381	1810,....	96,373	1850,....	515,394
1773,....	21,876	1823,....	123,706	1860,....	814,254
1786,....	23,614	1830,....	202,589		

The whole population of the state in 1860 was 3,880,727, the city containing more than one-fifth of all the inhabitants of the state. The city has too, a greater population than Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, Kansas, California, Oregon, Delaware, Maryland, Arkansas, Florida, South Carolina, Mississippi, Louisiana or Texas ; twenty-one different states having a smaller population than has gathered on the island of Manhattan.

The appearance of the city has steadily improved. Scarcely a trace of the city of the days of the Revolution remains. The buildings are nearly all recent ; the stores, many of them of white marble, brown stone or iron, are of palatial size and form ; the churches and public edifices are equally costly and in many cases erected with great taste and judgment, possessing no little architectural beauty ; what Wall street is for its banks, Broadway is for its stores and the Fifth avenue for its dwellings, the finest churches being in the last two streets or near them.

These various buildings are supplied with gas, first man-

ufactured here in 1823, and with water from the Croton river, introduced in consequence of a vote in favor of it in 1835. The pavement of the streets has been gradually improved, the old cobble stones have given place in many parts to the Belgian pavement which has best answered the requisites; and the means of communication through the different parts are greatly facilitated by the various city rail roads. Steam brings to the city in the steam boats that leave at all points and in the various rail roads her supplies and merchandise; and drives the machinery in her thousand workshops; and even in her fire engines bends its immense strength to hurl the exhaustless Croton on the consuming edifice.

For education New York possesses, including the Free Academy, five incorporated colleges, and ninety-nine public schools, besides a large number directed by private individuals or religious denominations. The pupils in the public schools amount to over fifty thousand, and nearly fifteen thousand more are taught in other free schools. Her public libraries, the Astor, Society, Historical, Mercantile and others, though inferior to the great libraries of Europe, are rapidly meeting the wants of the people.

In her institutions for the relief of the miseries and misfortunes of our race, New York has no reason to avoid comparison. Two well conducted city hospitals, three more supported by the Catholics, Jews and Episcopalians; several orphan asylums, infirmaries, asylums for the blind, the deaf and dumb, and the insane, a Lying-in Hospital, houses of protection for servants. In addition to these it has an institution not indeed a charity, for the city contributes nothing to it, but no less admirable, as it is managed by citizens of New York. This is the Emigrant Commission, supported by a tax levied on each emigrant

arriving, and paid by him as a premium insuring him in case of want during five years a competent relief. Of the magnitude of this institution, we may judge by the fact that from 1847 to 1861 the number of emigrants landing at New York was over two million seven hundred and fifty thousand, and of this great nation not one during the five years succeeding his arrival cost the city or any part of the state a single cent.

The Alms House of the city, with the Penitentiary, the Juvenile Asylums, are all extensive, and generally conducted on wise principles, the government devolving chiefly on a single Board of Charities and Corrections.

Meanwhile the city has its numerous churches and edifices growing out of them; its convents, asylums, hospitals. Many of the churches are large and spacious, with costly organs and rich service; most are well attended by worshipers, some by four or five times their capacity each Sunday, repeated services at different hours enabling thousands to use a single edifice.

While religion and benevolence are thus cared for, New York is not without its means of amusement. A spacious park of three miles length, has been laid out most economically in a period of official squandering, and by its walks and drives, its sailing advantages in summer and still greater opportunities for skating in winter, gives a guarantee of the public health, which the improved sewerage and widening of many streets in the older parts of the city daily insures. A noble Opera House, and a number of Theatres, a Museum, attract numbers, and the amusements offered are watched with a jealous eye. At no period, perhaps, has greater morality marked the plays selected for the stage.

Such in brief is New York in 1862, how altered from

that when Miller made his notes. The rocky isle alone preserves its identity. The picture of the past, therefore, possesses but the greater interest.

*Commission of the Rev. John Miller to be Chaplain of Fort William, New York.*

From Book of Commissions II, 71-73 in Secretary's Office, Albany, N. Y.

Marie R.

William and Mary by the grace of God King and Queen  
[L. s.] of England Scotland France and Ireland Defenders  
of the faith &c. To our Trusty and welbeloved John  
Miller Clerke Greeting We do by these presents constitute and appoint you to be Chaplain of the two Companies of foot in the Colony of Newyorke in America You are therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the duty of a Chaplain by doing and performing all and all manner of things thereunto belonging and you are to observe and follow such orders and direcons from time to time as you shall receive from your Captains or any your superiour Officer according to the rules and discipline of warr Given at Our Court at Whitehall the 7th day of March 169 $\frac{1}{2}$  in the fourth yeare of Our Reigne By her Maj<sup>ty</sup>s Command

NOTTINGHAM.

Entered with the Com<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> of the musters.

D. CRAWFORD.

*The Bishop of London's Licence to the Rev<sup>d</sup> John Miller.*

Henricus permissione divina Londinensis Episcopus Dilecto nobis in Christo Johannis Miller Art: Magistro  
[L. s.] & Clerico Salutem & Gratiam Ad peragendum Officium Capellani in Oppido Novi Eboraci apud Americanos in



precibus communibus Aliisq; ministerijs Ecclesiasticis Ad Officium Capellani pertinentibus juxta formam descriptam in libro publicarum precum autoritate Parlamenti hujus Inclyti Regni Angliæ in ea parte edit. & provis. & Canones & Constitutiones in ea legitime stabilitas et publicatas non aliter neque alio modo Tibi de cujus fidelitate, morum integritate Literarum Scientia sana doctrina et diligentia plurimum confidimus (prestito primitus per te Jramento tam de agnoscendo Regiam supremam Majestatem juxta vim formam et effectum Statuti parlamenti dicti reg-  
[H. London] ni Angliæ in ea parte edit. et provis. quam de Canonica Obedientia Nobis et Successoribus nostris in omnibus licitis et honestis per te præstanda et exhibenda, subscriptisq; per te tribus illis articulis mentionatis in tricesimo sexto Capitulo libri Constitutionum sive Canonum Ecclesiasticorum Anno Dom. 1604. Regia Autoritate Editorum & promulgatorum) Licentiam et facultatem nostram concedimus et impertimur per præsentem ad nostrum beneplacitum duntaxat duraturas: In cujus rei Testimonium Sigillum nostrum (quo in similibus plerumq; utimur) præsentibus apponi fecimus Dat. nono die Martij Anno Dom. 1691, nostræq translationis anno Decimo Septimo.

*Certificate of the Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr Miller having subscribed the Declaration according to Act of Parliament.*

Henry, By Divine permission Lord Bishop of London to  
[L. S.] all to whom these presents shall or may concerne  
health in Our Lord God everlasting. Whereas by  
virtue of An Act of Parliament made in the first year of the  
reign of Our Sovereign Lord and Lady King William and  
Queen Mary Entituled an Act for the abrogating of the  
Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance and appointing other

oaths It is provided and Enacted That every person at his or their respective Admission to be incumbent in any Ecclesiasticall promotion or dignity in the Church of England shall subscribe and declare before his Ordinary in manner and forme as in the said Act is contained Now know ye That on the day of the date hereof did personally [H. London] appear before us M<sup>r</sup> John Miller Clerke to be admitted Chaplain in Newyorke in America and subscribed as followeth as by the said Act is required: "I John Miller Clerke do declare that no forrein Prince Person Prelate State or Potentate hath or ought to have any Jurisdiction Power Superiority Preëminence or Authority Ecclesiasticall or Spiritual within this Realm: And that I will conform to the Liturgy of the Church of England as it is now by Law Established" In Witness whereof We have caused Our Seal Manual to be affixed to these presents Dated the 9th day of March in the year of Our Lord One thousand six hundred 91 And in the 17<sup>th</sup> Year of Our Translation.

A  
Description  
OF  
The Province and City  
OF  
New-York:

With  
Plans of the City and Several Forts  
as they existed in the Year 1695.

By the

---

Rev. John Miller.

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L O N D O N,

Printed and Published for the Enlightenment of  
such as would desire information Anent the New-  
Found-Land of America.



# ADVERTISEMENT

TO THE ENGLISH EDITION.



THE following description of New York, as it existed a century and a half since, fell into the hands of the publisher on the dispersion of the library of the late George Chalmers, Esq.

As it contains some curious particulars respecting the state of society in the province at the time, and is, moreover, of particular local interest, as giving plans of the town and the several forts in the province, the publisher thought he would be rendering an acceptable service to those persons who take an interest in tracing the rise and growth of the great commercial emporium of the Western world by causing a few copies to be printed, and thus preserving it from the chance of being lost or destroyed.

The orthography has been modernized, the pointing amended, and a few words, obviously necessary to complete the sense, have been inserted between brackets.

The author appears to use some peculiar arithmetical notation consisting in the employment of a superfluous number of ciphers, as page 5, line 4, where 300 and 303 are printed for 30 and 33, and page 14, where 64,000 is used for 64: these are retained, but his obvious meaning is indicated to the reader by inserting the true numbers within a parenthesis.

It may be further necessary to add, that the author uniformly uses Canida instead of Canada: this has been changed to the present usage. All other proper names are given as in the manuscript.

*To the Right Reverend Father in God, Henry,  
Lord Bishop of London.*

MY LORD.

AFTER having been very near three years resident in the province of New York, in America, as Chaplain to his Majesty's forces there, and by living in the Fort of New York, and constantly attending the Governor, had the opportunity of observing many things of considerable consequence in relation to the Christians and Indians, inhabitants thereof, or bordering thereon, and also taken the draughts of all the cities, towns, forts, and churches of any note within the same, with particular accounts of the number of our Indians, the strength of Canada, and way thither, and several other matters which would have enabled me to give an exact account of the present estate of that province and the methods proper to be used for the correcting certain evils therein, and advantaging thereof, principally as to religious affairs,—I was (obliged so to do by several weighty motives, especially those of my private concerns) returning home with them in July last, when being met and set upon by a French privateer and made his prisoner, I was obliged to cause them all to be thrown overboard, lest I should have given intelligence to an

enemy to the ruine of the province, instead of a friendly information to the advantaging thereof. But having had time by my long imprisonment, and leisure also sufficient, I thought I could not better employ them than by endeavouring to retrieve some part of what I had lost, and put it in such a method as might testify the earnest desire I have to promote the glory to God, the service of my sovereign, and the benefit of my country. What I have been able to do through God's assistance, the help of my memory, and certain knowledge I had of things, your Lordship will find in the following sheets: which however weak and imperfect, as it must needs be, I humbly present to your Lordship as an evidence of my duty and gratitude; submitting it to your wise inspection and serious consideration, either to be further improved if it seem proper for the end it is designed, or rejected if it be unworthy of any respect. Intreating your Lordship to pardon what faults and blemishes shall be found therein, and heartily praying that the Giver of all good things would bless your Lordship, (see Note 1,) with health, and prosperity and success in all your affairs, I make bold in all duty to subscribe myself,

My Lord,  
Your Lordship's most faithful,  
And humble servant,  
JOHN MILLER.



# NEW YORK CONSIDERED.

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## CHAPTER I.

### OF THE PROVINCE OF NEW YORK.

The province of New York is a country very pleasant and delightful, and well improved for the time it has been settled and the number of its inhabitants. It lies in the latitudes of 40 and 41, and for the longitude is situated between the 300th and 303d (30th and 33d) degree north; is in breadth, where broadest, from the east to the west, about 200 miles, and in length, north and south, about 250, being bounded on the east by New England, on the west by New Jersey and the Indian country, on the north by the Indian country, and on the south by the ocean. It lies almost exactly in the middle of the English plantations, which altogether have of sea coast, more or less improved by the English, both eastward and westward, near 250 leagues. This province whereof I speak consists partly of islands and partly of the main land: the islands of greater consideration are three: New York island,

Staten Island, and Nassau (formerly Long) Island; (see Note 2,) the two former make, each of them, a county, the first of New York, the second of Richmond. On Nassau Island are three counties; for the western end is King's County, the middle Queen's County, and the eastern part Suffolk County: to these do belong several other smaller islands, which, being at best but so many farms, are not worthy consideration. On the main land are likewise five counties, namely: West Chester, Orange, Dutchess, Ulster, and Albany, (see Note 3,) equal in number to, but not so well planted, improved, and peopled, as the former. The places of strength are chiefly three: the city of New York, the city of Albany, and the town of Kingstone, in Ulster.

The city of New York, more largely taken, is the whole island so called, and is in length sixteen miles, (see Note 4,) in breadth six, and in circumference forty-two; but more strictly considered, and as a place of strength, is only the part thereof within the fortifications, and so is not in length or breadth above two furlongs, and in circumference a mile. The form of it is triangular, having for the sides thereof the west and north lines, and the east and south for its arched basis. The chief place of strength it boasts of is its fort, situated on the south west angle, which is reasonably strong, and well provided with ammunition, having in it about thirty-eight guns. Mounted on the basis like-

wise, in convenient places, are three batteries of great guns; one of fifteen, called Whitehall Battery, one of five, by the Stadthouse, (see Note 5,) and the third of ten, by the Burgher's Path. (See Note 6.) On the north east angle is a strong blockhouse and half moon, wherein are six or seven guns; this part butts upon the river, and is all along fortified with a sufficient bank of earth. On the north side are two large stone points, and therein about eight guns, some mounted and some unmounted. On the north west angle is a blockhouse, and on the west side two hornworks which are furnished with some guns, six or seven in number: this side butts upon Hudson's River; has a bank in some places twenty fathoms high from the water, by reason whereof, and a stockado strengthened with a bank of earth on the inside, which last is also on the north side to the landward, it is not easily assailable. As this city is the chief place of strength belonging to this province for its defence against those enemies who come by sea, so Albany is of principal consideration against those who come by land, the French and Indians of Canada. It is distant from New York 150 miles, and lies up Hudson's River on the west side, on the descent of a hill from the west to the eastward. It is in circumference about six furlongs, and hath therein about 200 houses, a fourth part of what there is reckoned to be in New York. The form of it is septangular, and the longest line

that which butts upon the river running from the north to the south. On the west angle is the fort, quadrangular, strongly stockadoed and ditched round, having in it twenty-one pieces of ordnance mounted. On the north west side are two blockhouses, and on the south west as many: on the south east angle stands one blockhouse; in the middle of the line from thence northward is a horned work, and on the north east angle a mount. The whole city is well stockadoed round, and in the several fortifications named are about thirty guns. Dependent on this city, and about twenty miles distance to the northward from it, is the Fort of Scanectade, (see Note 7,) quadrangular, with a treble stockado, a new blockhouse at every angle, and in each blockhouse two great guns; and Nestigayuna, and the Half-moon; (see Note 8,) places, formerly of some account, but now deserted. On this city also depends the Fort at the Flats, four miles from Albany, belonging to the River Indians, who are about sixty families: it is stockadoed round, has a blockhouse and a mount, but no great guns. There are in it five Indian wigwams, and a house or two serving in case of necessity for the soldiers, in number twenty-four, who are the guard there. Kingstone is the chief town of Ulster County; lies on the west side of Hudson's River, but two miles distant from it, from New York eighty-six, and from Albany sixty-four miles: it is quadrangular, and stockadoed round, having small horn-

works at convenient distances one from the other, and in proper places. It is in circumference near as big as Albany, but as to number of houses not above half so big: on the south side is a particular part separated by a stockado from the rest, and strengthened with a blockhouse and a horn-work wherein are about six guns.

The number of the inhabitants in this province are about 3000 families, whereof almost one-half are naturally Dutch, a great part English, and the rest French; which how they are seated, and what number of families of each nations, what churches, meeting houses, ministers or pretended ministers, there are in each county, may be best discerned by the table here inserted. As to their religion, they are very much divided; few of them intelligent and sincere, but the most part ignorant and conceited, fickle and regardless. As to their wealth and disposition thereto, the Dutch are rich and sparing; the English neither very rich, nor too great husbands; the French are poor, and therefore forced to be penurious. As to their way of trade and dealing, they are all generally cunning and crafty, but many of them not so just to their words as they should be.

The air of this province is very good, and much like that of the best parts of France; not very often foggy, nor yet cloudy or rainy for any long time together, but generally very clear and thin: the north-west winds frequently visit it, and chiefly in

winter; nor does there want in the summer the southern breezes, which daily almost rise about nine or ten in the morning, and continue till sunset. The weather is, indeed, hotter in summer than one would well wish it, and in winter colder than he can well endure it; but both heat and cold are in their seasons much abated by the wind last spoken of. The coldest wind is generally reckoned to be the north west, and it is certainly very sharp and piercing, and causes most hard and severe frosts; but, in my judgment, the south west exceeds it much, but the best of it is that it does not blow very often there from that quarter.

The air and winds being such as I have said, the country, consequently, should be very healthful, and this is certainly so; and I dare boldly affirm it to be, on that particular and most beneficial account, the best province his Majesty has in all America, and very agreeable to the constitution of his subjects, so that a sober Englishman may go into it, live there, and come out of it again, without any seasoning or other sickness caused merely by the country; nay, it is so far from causing, that, on the contrary, if a man be any thing consumptive, and not too far gone, 'tis ten to one but it will cure him; and if inclined to rheums or colds, will in a great part, if not wholly, free him from them.

If the air be good, the land is not bad, but taking one place with another, very tolerable, yea, commendable: there are, 'tis true, many rocks and

mountains, but, I believe, the goodness of their inside as to metals and minerals will, when searched, make amends for the barrenness of the outside: there are also many woods and bogs, or rather swamps; but few complain of them, because they afford them mast for their hogs and food for their breeding mares and cows, also, in the summer time, fur. Walnut, cedar, oak of several kinds, and many other sorts of wood proper for building of ships or houses, or necessary for fencing and fuel; turpentine for physical uses, and pitch and tar for the seaman's service; many physical herbs, and much wild fowl, as swans, geese, ducks, turkies, a kind of pheasants and partridges, pigeons, &c. and no less store of good venison, so that you may sometimes buy at your door a quarter for ninepence or a shilling. Hence also they have their furs, such as beaver, otter, fisher, martin, musk-rat, bear-skin, &c. Indeed, the countenance of them is not so beautiful as some of our English writers would make us believe; nor would I prefer, in that respect, the wild Indian country before our English meadows and closes, much less our gardens when in the most flourishing estate, notwithstanding that there are here and there many herbs such and as good as we have growing in our gardens to be found wild, as mint, sweet marjoram, &c.; and, in their season, strawberries and walnuts, and some other sorts of fruits, in great abundance, especially grapes, which I am persuaded, if well improved,

would yield great quantities of strong and pleasant wine (see Note 9).

He that is not pleased with these advantages may, if he please to take a little pains in clearing the ground by stubbing up the trees and brush-wood, have good arable land or pastures, that shall, instead of woods and their wild produce, afford him good corn and hay, and a reasonable number of fat cattle. Indeed, not all alike, for the land toward the south is generally a sandy soil, and not very fruitful, but rather something inclining to barrenness : the corn that it produces is small, oftentimes spoiled by blasts and mildews, or eaten (especially the white peas,) by the worms, but then it produces very good Indian corn or maize ; (see Note 10,) pleasant fruits, as apples, peaches, melons of several sorts ; good roots as parsneps, turnips, carrots, and as good cabbages as need to be eaten : but to the northward, and in the Indian country, the land is much better ; the soil black and rich, brings forth corn in abundance, and that very firm, large, and good ; and besides all those fruits aforementioned (peaches excepted), cherries, pears, and currants.

Fish there is in great store, both in the sea and rivers ; many of them of the same kinds as we have in England, and many strange, and such as are not to be seen there ; some even without name, except such as was given them from the order they were taken in, as first, second, third, &c., (see Note 11). These are the produce of the country I speak



of, and there are yet more than these peculiarly proper for the merchant, as train oil and whale-bone, though in no very great quantity; and pipe-staves, of which many thousands are yearly transported, with several other things, which, with some of those before-named, will admit of much improvement. The industry that now is used is but little; the few inhabitants, having a large country before them, care not for more than from hand to mouth, and therefore they take but little pains, and yet that little produces very good beer, bread, cider, wine of peaches, cloth stuffs, and beaver hats, a certain and sufficient sign how plentiful and beneficial a country it would be did but industrious art second nature's bounty, and were but the inhabitants more in number than at present they are (see Note 12).

Merchandizing in this country is a good employment, English goods yielding in New York generally 100 per cent. advance above the first cost, and some of them 200, 300, yea sometimes 400: this makes so many in the city to follow it, that whosoever looks on their shops would wonder, where there are so many to sell, there should be any to buy.

This, joined to the healthfulness, pleasantness, and fruitfulness thereof, are great encouragements to people rather to seek the bettering of their fortunes here than elsewhere; so that it may be hoped that a little time will render the inhabitants more

numerous than at present they are. Do men expect profit in what they carry with them to a foreign land?—they need not fear it here, if their goods but suit the country. Would they live in health?—no place so likely to live so in, in this part of America. Would they have plenty of necessities for food and raiment?—New York, in these, is not unkind; but though a stepmother to those who come from England, yet furnishes them as plentifully, if equally industrious, as their natural country does those who stay behind. In short, there is nothing wanting to make the inhabitants thereof happy but some things which the country cannot help them in, nor yet is guilty of the want thereof, to which either themselves do contribute, or which their ill settlement, or worse government, has introduced, and some things which the few years of their being a province has not yet given any favorable opportunities for, nor permitted to be settled among them; which what they are I shall next proceed to discover and speak of in the best method and order that I can, and with as much brevity as the subject will conveniently admit of, after having first presented to the reader some draughts or ground plots of the most remarkable places already discoursed of, as you will perceive by considering these following figures:—

COUNTIES.	CHURCHES.	MINISTERS.	FAMILIES.
NEW YORK.	Chapel in the fort	Dr. Scelinus (See Note 13.)	90
	Dutch Calvinists	Dr. Perot (See Note 14.)	450
	Dutch Lutheran	Saul Brown (See Note 15.)	30
	French	Dr. Scelinus	200
	Jews Synagogue		20
	Haarlem		25
			English 40, Dissenters.
RICHMOND.	A Meeting House	Dr. Bonrepos (See 16.)	English 40 Dutch 44 French 36
KING'S.	Flatbush Utrecht Brookland	Dr. Varick died Aug. 1694, and another sent for May 27, 1695.	300 or 400, chiefly Dutch.
QUEEN'S.	Jamaica Hampsted Newtown } Meeting Houses	Mr. Philips } without Mr. Vesey* } any Mr. Mot† } orders.	300 or 400 English, most Dissenters, and some Dutch.
SUFFOLK.	Eight or nine Meeting Houses; almost one at every town.	Seven Ministers, Dissenters, Presbyterian, or Independent. One lately gone to Scotland.	500 or 600 English, and Dissenters for the most part.
WEST CHESTER.	A Meeting House at West Chester.	A young man coming to settle there without any orders. (See Note 19.)	200 or 300 English and Dissenters; few Dutch.
ORANGE.			20 English & Dutch.
DUTCHESS.			30 English & Dutch.
ULSTER.	Dutch Calvinist, at Kingstone, for five or six towns.	A Minister to come, his books brought; but he missed his passage.	300, Dutch mostly; some English and French.
ALBANY.	Dutch Calvinist Dutch Lutheran Scanecthade Kinderhoeck.	Dr. Dellius. (See Note 20.) A Dutch Minister sent for.	400 or 500 Dutch, all Calvinists, except 12 or 14 Lutherans.

\* See Note 17.

† See Note 18.

## CHAPTER II.

## OF THE EVILS AND INCONVENIENCES IN NEW YORK.

Come we now to consider those things which I have said to be either wanting or obstructive to the happiness of New York; and here I shall not speak of every slight and trivial matter, but only those of more considerable importance, which I count to be six. 1st, The wickedness and irreligion of the inhabitants; 2d, want of ministers; 3d, difference of opinion in religion; 4th, a civil dissension; 5th, the heathenism of the Indians; and, 6th, the neighborhood of Canada: of every one of these I shall say something as shall be most material.

The first is the wickedness and irreligion of the inhabitants, which abounds in all parts of the province, and appears in so many shapes, constituting so many sorts of sin, that I can scarce tell which to begin withal. But, as a great reason of and inlet to the rest, I shall first mention the great negligence of divine things that is generally found in most people, of what sect or party soever they pretend to be: their eternal interests are their least concern, and, as if salvation were not a matter of moment, when they have opportunities of serving God they care not for making use thereof; or, if they go to church, 'tis but too often out of curiosity, and to find out faults in him that preacheth rather

than to hear their own, or, what is yet worse, to slight and deride where they should be serious. If they have none of those opportunities, they are well contented, and regard it little if there be any who seem otherwise and discontented. Many of them, when they have them, make appear by their actions 'twas but in show; for though at first they will pretend to have a great regard for God's ordinances, and a high esteem for the ministry, whether real or pretended, a little time will plainly evidence that they were more pleased at the novelty than truly affected with the benefit, when they slight that which they before seemingly so much admired, and speak evil of him who before was the subject of their praise and commendation, and that without any other reason than their own fickle temper and envious humour. In a soil so rank as this, no marvel if the Evil One find a ready entertainment for the seed he is minded to cast in; and from a people so inconstant, and regardless of heaven and holy things, no wonder if God withdraw his grace, and give them up a prey to those temptations which they so industriously seek to embrace: hence is it, therefore, that their natural corruption without check or hinderance is, by frequent acts, improved into habits most evil in the practice, and difficult in the correction.

One of which, and the first I am minded to speak, of, is drunkenness, which, though of itself a great sin, is yet aggravated in that it is an occa-

sion of many others. 'Tis in this country a common thing, even for the meanest persons, so soon as the bounty of God has furnished them with a plentiful crop, to turn what they can as soon as may be into money, and that money into drink, at the same time when their family at home have nothing but rags to protect their bodies from the winter's cold; nay if the fruits of their plantations be such as by their own immediate labour convertible into liquor, such as cider, perry, &c., they have scarce the patience to stay till it is fit for drinking, but, inviting their pot-companions, they all of them, neglecting whatsoever work they are about, set to it together, and give not over till they have drunk it off. And to these sottish engagements they will make nothing to ride ten or twenty miles, and at the conclusion of one debauch another generally is appointed, except their stock of liquor fail them. Nor are the mean and country people only guilty of this vice, but they are equalled, nay surpassed, by many in the city of New York, whose daily practice is to frequent the taverns, and to carouse and game their night employment. This course is the ruin and destruction of many merchants, especially those of the younger sort, who, carrying over with them a stock, whether as factors, or on their own account, spend, even to prodigality, till they find themselves bankrupt ere they are aware (see Note 21).

In a town where this course of life is led by

many, 'tis no wonder if there be other vices in vogue, because they are the natural product of it, such are cursing and swearing, to both of which people are here much accustomed ; some doing it in that frequent, horrible, and dreadful manner as if they prided themselves both as to the number and invention of them: this, joined with their profane, atheistical and scoffing method of discourse, makes their company extremely uneasy to sober and religious men, who sometimes, by reason of their affairs, cannot help being of their society, and becoming ear-witnesses of their blasphemy and folly. 'Tis strange that men should engage themselves so foolishly, and run into the commission of so great a sin unto which they have no sufficient, often not a pretended, provocation, and from which they reap no advantage nor any real pleasure: and yet we see them even delight in it, and no discourse is thought witty or eloquent except larded with oaths and execrations. Howsoever difficult these sins may be to be corrected in a large and populous kingdom, I should scarce think them so in a province, where the total number of inhabitants will scarce equal the 64,000th (64th) part of those who are computed to be in London; nay, am sure they might be much hindered, were but the good laws made against them put duly in execution.

'Tis an ordinary thing with vices that one of them introduces another, and is a reason of their

easy and common success; and so we see it here. That where men drink to so high a pitch, and pamper their debauched palates with the rich and most nourishing viands the country affords, 'tis certain the flesh must grow high and rebellious, so as imperiously to command where it ought to obey; nay, not to be contented without variety, whatsoever obstacle or impediment lies in the way. Reason, that should rule and direct to better things, is so far debauched, that she pretends to defend the contrary; and by objecting the troubles and confinements of a married state, and extolling the sweet and unconfined pleasures of the wandering libertines, prevails with many not to think fornication, nay, not adultery, dangerous sins, but rather to be chosen than lawful wedlock, the proper and really sufficient (though not to debauched and pampered bodies) remedy for the hinderance of these evils. I say it is a proper and sufficient remedy if duly practiced, and according to law and reason, which in New York it is not; because,

1st. There are many couples live together without ever being married in any manner of way; many of whom, after they have lived some years so, quarrel, and, thereupon separating, take unto themselves, either in New York or some other province, new companions; but, grant they do not so, how can such expect that God should bless them together while they live in open contempt of his holy ordinance?



2d. Those who in earnest do intend to be married together are in so much haste, that, commonly, enjoyment precedes the marriage, to which they seldom come till a great belly puts it so forward, that they must either submit to that, or to shame and disgrace which they avoid by marriage; ante-nuptial fornication, where that succeeds, being not looked upon as any scandal or sin at all.

3d. There is no sufficient provision for the marrying of people in this province, the most that are married here being married by justices of the peace, for which there neither is nor can be in New York any law: (see Note 22,) on this account, many looking upon it as no marriage at all, and being easily induced to think it so when they find themselves pinched by the contract, think it no great matter to divorce themselves, as they term it, and marry to others where they can best, and according to their own liking. Whether this manner of marrying by justices of the peace be a sufficient engagement to the married couple to live together, is to me a matter not disputable; and, in the meanwhile, the scandal and evil that flows from hence is very great: and I myself know at this time a man who fills the place and exercises the office of a minister and school-master in the island of Barbadoes that was married to a woman of New York by a justice of peace, and, after falling out with her, betook himself to another woman, whom he got with child, and went afterwards to Barbadoes,

where, if he be not married to her, at least he lives with her as though she were his wife; the woman the meantime continuing in New York, was soon after married to another man.

4th. Supposing the way of marrying were lawful, yet many justices are so ignorant or mean-spirited, or both, that thereby it comes to pass they are often prevailed upon to marry a couple together that are either one or both of them engaged or married to other persons: an eminent instance hereof I knew in New York. A woman, dissolute in manners, not liking to live with her husband, contracted herself to another person, and came with him to a justice of peace to be married. The justice, knowing the woman to be the wife of another man, refused at first to marry them; but they, understanding he had offended in the like matter before, threatened to acquaint the Governor therewith, if he would not marry them also; which rather than hazard, he granted their request; thus offending the first time through ignorance, and the second through fear. I came to know of it by this means:—the woman thus married outliving her second husband, had inveigled the son of an honest woman of Nassau Island to marry her, her first husband still living: his mother, looking upon such a match as his ruin, sought all she could to hinder it, and, as her last refuge, came to me, desiring me to do what I could that he might not have a license out of the Secretary's office, which I obstructed by entering

a caveat, and so prevented it for that time; and what is done in it since I cannot tell: but this am sure of, that the too frequent practice of this evil is such as loudly calls for redress and amendment.

The great encouragement for gaining a livelihood that is given to people in this province, where whosoever will take pains may have land enough whereon to raise an estate for themselves and heirs, and the mean accommodations or at least the no great riches, of the first inhabitants, have been the reason that thieving and robbing has been very little practised in this country. But now, of late, since some people are become wealthy enough to purchase and have by them what is worth the taking away, and that the out-parts of the province (where the best land is) towards Canada are so harassed by the French and their Indians, that men are fearful to plant and dwell there, and that people are fallen into so great debauchery and idleness, thieving is become more frequent; and many considerable robberies have been committed in my time in New York, to the great discouragement of industrious people, and increase of vice and sin. There are many other wickednesses which I might speak of as wanting redress, but there is no need of enlarging on their account; for, were these of greater note already spoken of discouraged, the rest would of themselves fall to nothing.

## CHAPTER III.

## OF THE MINISTRY, AND DEFICIENCY THEREIN.

A second and great inconveniency this province suffers under is in relation to a ministry; for it is most certain, that where there are persons of some repute and authority living, who give good example by their sober lives and conversations, and diligence in their duty, sin is mightily discouraged, and religion and virtue gain ground upon her daily, and increase and flourish; and that, where there are none such, vice has a free course, and religion continually decays, and, what by the negligence of men, and the malice and subtility of the enemy of all, goodness runs to ruin. Now, in New York, there are either

1, No ministers at all, that is, the settled and established religion of the nation, and of such there is not, oftentimes, one in the whole province; nor at any time, except the Chaplain to his Majesty's forces in New York, (see Note 23,) that does discharge, or pretend to discharge, the duty of a minister, and, he being but one, cannot do it everywhere; nay, but in very few places but New York itself: and being necessitated sometimes to go to England, it happens that both the garrison and the city are without a minister a year together. It happens, also, that he is often changed, which is not

without its inconveniences, but proves very prejudicial to religion in many cases, as is easy to instance: besides, while he does his duty among them, he shall experience their gratitude but very little, and be sure to meet with a great many discouragements, except, instead of reprehending and correcting, he will connive at and soothe people in their sinful courses.

2, Or secondly, if there be any ministers, they are such as only call themselves so, and are but pretended ministers; many of them have no orders at all, but set up for themselves of their own head and authority; or, if they have orders, are Presbyterians, Independents, &c. Now all these have no other encouragement for the pains they pretend to take than the voluntary contributions of the people, or, at best, a salary by agreement and subscription, which yet they shall not enjoy, except they take more care to please the humours and delight the fancies of their hearers, than to preach up true religion and a christian life: hence it comes to pass that the people live very loosely, and they themselves very poorly, at best, if they are not forced for very necessity, and by the malice of some of their hearers, to forsake their congregations. Besides being of different persuasions, and striving to settle such sentiments as they indulge themselves in in the hearts of those who are under their ministry, they do more harm, in distracting and divid-

ing the people, than good in the amending their lives and conversations.

3, Or thirdly, if there be, or have been any ministers, and those ministers of the Church of England, they have been here, and are in other provinces, many of them, such as, being of a vicious life and conversation, have played so many vile pranks, and shewn such an ill light, as has been very prejudicial to religion in general, and the Church of England in particular; or else they have been such as, though sober, yet have been very young, and so, instead of doing good, have been easily drawn into the commission of evil, and become as scandalous as those last mentioned. Now though, as to this last charge, I must not be conceived to speak so much in relation to New York as the other English plantations, because there has been generally, from time to time, but one minister at a time as Chaplain to his Majesties forces there, yet is not New York wholly unconcerned herein, since, there having been several chaplains successive to one another, some have not so carried themselves as to be, and that deservedly, without blame: besides, three that I know of have come by the by, whose either life or knowledge, or both, have not been commendable; and, as I am informed, there is one there now, and another going from Barbadoes, the former not free from all exception, and the latter lying under very great scandal.

## CHAPTER IV.

## OF DIFFERENCE IN RELIGION.

The province of New York being peopled by several nations, there are manifold and different opinions of religion among them; as to which, though there are but very few of any sect who are either real or intelligent, yet several of the partizans of each sort have every one such a desire of being uppermost, and increasing the number of their own party, that they not only thereby make themselves unhappy by destroying true piety, and setting up instead thereof a fond heat and blind zeal for they know not what, but also industriously obstruct the settlement of the established religion of the nation, which only can make them happy; and have hitherto, either by their craft and cunning, or their money, prospered in their designs; and to do thus they have but too much pretence, from the scandalous lives of some ministers—the matter considered under the former head.

## CHAPTER V.

## OF THE CIVIL DIVISION.

I shall, in the fourth place, reckon as not a small unhappiness to the province of New York the divi-

sion in the civil state happening on this occasion. When his present gracious Majesty came into England to redeem us from Popery and arbitrary power, the news of his success arriving in New England, put some people there upon overturning the government, which they affected: how just their reasons and proceedings were is not my business to inquire, but this action of theirs put the inhabitants of New York upon the like project. Colonel Nicholson, the then Lieutenant Governor, and the council, thought it best to attend orders what they should do from England; and in the meanwhile, the Colonel, to free the people from all jealousies and fears, permitted daily a proportionable part of the city train-bands to have the guard of the fort with the King's soldiers. But Mr. Jacob Leysler, a man of small beginnings, but thence grown a merchant, and about this time decaying in his fortune, and others of his party, were no ways contented with this moderate course proposed, but, pretending fears of being sold or given to the French, and terming all Papists, or popishly affected, who did not favor his designs, seized upon the fort and government too, in the management of which he did many good things; and, if people say truth, was guilty of doing many things that were irregular, and some very bad, as unlawfully imprisoning the King's subjects, taking away their goods by force, designing to kill the natural English and all who joined with them, man,



woman, and child, &c.; so that when Colonel Slaughter came over in March 1691, he and one Mr. Milburn his son-in-law, who had greatly counselled and assisted him in his designs, were tried for their lives and condemned, and, what is more, hanged, to the great sorrow and regret of their whole party, who have vowed revenge, and, some say, want but an opportunity to effect their purpose. I shall not pretend here to enquire into the real intentions or actions of Leysler's party, or those who were against them, neither into the truth of those things which the one party allege against the other; but only say, that, having considered what I have seen done and heard said on the one side and on the other, I do believe that there were some of either side who sought in what they did their own advantage; many who truly did intend his Majesty's service; and many who blindly followed the leading men, neither considering what they did, nor whether they led them; and that these injuries, done by either side to their opposites, have made a most unhappy division and breach among them, which will hardly of a long time admit of cure, except some very prudent and moderate method be used for that purpose more than has already been put in practice (see Note 24).

## CHAPTER VI.

## OF THE HEATHENISM OF THE INDIANS.

The next thing in this province blameable is the heathenism of the natural Indians, who here, in the very heart of a Christian country, practice their barbarous and devilish customs and modes of worship, notwithstanding it is now sixty years and more since Christians first inhabited this country, and thirty years since the English were possessed thereof. Indeed, there is something to be said in excuse hereof, that is, the unsettledness of the country for a long time, the several changes of government it has undergone, and the small number of the English at present; and something to be objected, that is, that it would be first reasonable to settle religion among those who are professed Christians before we pretend to the conversion and settlement of the Indians. To which I answer, that, as what is passed must be excused, since it can't be helped, so, I see no reason in the objection, because a sufficient provision may be made, that one thing may be done and the other not left undone; especially when the Indians are so inclinable to receive the Christian faith, as they have made appear they are, both by that considerable number of the Mohawks whom Dr. Delliuss has converted, (though by a method not so exact and prevalent as

might be used,) and those Oneidas converted to Popery by the jesuit Millet, (see Note 25,) much to the advantage of the French, who have debauched so many of our Indians as they have made Christians, and obliged, by so doing, some of our Mohawks so much, that one of them, as I have heard, having run away from us to them, and, thereupon, being upbraided with his infidelity in forsaking his old friends, in his own defence made answer, that he had lived long among the English, but they had never all that while had so much love for him as to instruct him in the concerns of his soul, and shew him the way to salvation, which the French had done upon their first acquaintance with him; and, therefore, he was obliged to love and be faithful to them, and engage as many of his nation as he could to go along with him and to partake of the same knowledge and instructions that were afforded and imparted to him, so that it appears to be a work not only of great charity but of almost absolute necessity to endeavor the conversion of the five nations and other Indians, lest they be wholly debauched by the French, and become, by God's just permission, for our neglect therein, of faithful and true friends, as they have been hitherto, most dangerous and cruel enemies.

## CHAPTER VII.

## OF CANADA.

Canada, (see Note 26,) although not in this province, but far distant from it, is yet a great enemy to the peace and happiness of it. First, as it is the reason why the most fruitful part thereof lies at present waste, forsaken by its former inhabitants, and hindered as to its future improvements. Second, as it is the reason why His Majesty and the remainder of this province are at great charges in maintaining Albany and the frontiers against the insults of the French and their Indians. Third, as they debauch our Indians from their fidelity, and instruct them in popery, both which at present are, and hereafter will be, much to the damage of this province: add hereunto that, by the damage they do to the other provinces [of] New England, and are at all times ready to do, they put the king of England and his subjects to a great deal more charge to defend themselves than the king of France, or the jesuits (if it be their country, as some say it is) are at to defend Canada against us, though we are in all over twenty times their number; besides, the governors of New York that have been from time to time have so often promised our Indians, to encourage them to continue the war, that they would send for ships

from England to come and wholly subdue and conquer Canada, that they, seeing they do not come, and that Sir Francis Wheeler, when at Boston, attempted nothing, begin to be discontented, and to charge the governor with breach of promise, and are very wavering in their fidelity and friendship towards the English; so that it appears a matter highly requisite to be endeavoured to conquer and subdue Canada, and that before it grow stronger in fortifications than at present it is; and, indeed, it is a shame it should not be effected, when we so much exceed them in strength in those parts, and when, if it please God to prosper us therein, we shall not only be freed from the charges which at present every province is at, more or less, but Canada may be so settled that it may be a great addition of strength and wealth to the English in America, without being, in a little time, any charge, but rather a benefit to the crown, as by a method to be laid down for the subduing and re-settlement of it, shall, as I trust, in due time and place appear. And now I have finished the consideration of the province of New York, and of those things therein or relating thereto which, being of greater moment or consequence, are worthy of blame and correction; and shall now lay down the means and method which I conceive proper for the remedying thereof, and thereby of advantaging and improving the country, which I shall do in three chapters: the first treating of the

more general means; the second containing a particular method for the conversion of the Indians; and the third proposing a way for the subduing and resettlement of Canada.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

### OF THE MORE GENERAL MEANS FOR CORRECTING THE EVILS IN NEW YORK.

THE great, most proper, and as I conceive effectual, means to remedy and prevent all the disorders I have already mentioned, and promote the settlement and improvement of religion and unity, both among the English subjects that are already Christians and the Indians supposed to be made so, is, that his Majesty will graciously please to send over a bishop to the province of New York, who, if duly qualified, impowered, and settled, may, with the assistance of a small force for the subduing of Canada, by God's grace and blessing be author of great happiness, not only to New York in particular, but to all the English plantations on that part of the continent of America in general. I doubt not but this proposal may, at first sight, seem very strange and unlikely to be effected; but if what follows be duly weighed and considered, I believe it will not appear wholly unreasonable.

It has heretofore been usual in England, when and where the dioceses have been so large that the

bishop alone could not suffice for the government thereof, to adjoin to him one or more suffragan bishops, each of which were wont to execute such power, jurisdiction, and authority, and receive such profits as were limited in their commission by the bishop or diocesan whose suffragans they were. Such an one, I humbly conceive, might be very well sent over to the north-east part of America, to to be there and act as suffragan to my Lord of London. To do this, as I doubt not his Majesty's power, so I cannot think my Lord of London will be unwilling; and I am sure the great distance of the country, being 3000 miles from England, the largeness of the provinces considered altogether, and number of the people, with the other particulars already mentioned, do sufficiently require it. In hopes, therefore, that such a proposal as this will meet with good entertainment, or with a charitable and candid construction, at the least, among those who can best promote it, I shall proceed to mention some things which will much conduce to the bishop's better entertainment and success (see Note 27).

And, first, I shall speak of his personal qualifications; second of the place of his residence; third, of the powers to be committed to him; and, fourth, of the provision to be made for his maintenance.

1.—Among his personal qualifications I must, in the first place, reckon his age, his learning, and his piety, which, being particulars not fit for me to

speaking of, I shall pass them by, and leave them to the prudent judgment and determination of that pious prelate whose suffragan he is to be. But because I am something acquainted with the humours and inclinations of the inhabitants of that country, I shall make bold to add, that it is requisite he be a person of an obliging temper and conversation, who, having power to compel, will rather persuade and win to obedience by kind acts and generous usage; one whose deportment must vindicate his person and place from contempt, and yet must be, when occasions require, so meek, complaisant, and free, that even the meanest may not have reason to count him proud. One whose generous soul must always aim at good and laudable actions, and whose humility and love to virtue must be so great and real as that he will not think much to submit to low condescensions, inferior means, and continual pains to bring a pious and possible design to perfection: one that can so justly esteem of riches as to think it a necessary care to manage his income well, that he may have wherewithal to forward and encourage a good work, and yet so little affect and love them, as freely to part with them to pious and charitable uses; and, lastly, one that will both constantly practice those eminent notes of true Christianity, love and charity, himself, and promote them among all those who call themselves disciples of the crucified Jesus.

2.—The place of his residence, as I have already



intimated, will most properly be in the province and city of New York, for which there are several reasons:—first, the healthfulness of the country, the air being clear and pure, and the climate most agreeable to an English constitution, so that few or none contract diseases on that account, but many are freed from them; second, because a maintenance will be more easily settled for him in this province than in any other, after the manner I shall presently set down; third, because this is the most proper place to begin a reformation of disorders in, which are here greater than any where else, and yet will be more easily regulated; and to settle the government of the church of England, a matter whose foundation being already laid, though at present hindered, will yet, with a little pains, be put into a good forwardness; fourth, for the site of it, this country is as much as may be in the midst of all the other English plantations, so that a bishop being placed therein, his good influences and care will be readily dispensed for the benefit of every part; fifth, because there are already such forces in this province, that is, 300 soldiers in his majesty's pay, as will be sufficient to awe troublesome and pragmatistical spirits, if there be any so bold as to endeavour to make any disturbance upon his going over.

3.—The power and authority requisite for him are these following:—first, that he be consecrated bishop by the archbishop, and duly impowered by

my Lord of London, so that he may act as suffragan bishop to him, not only in New York, but also in all the English provinces in that part of America; second, that his Majesty, uniting the provinces of New York, Connecticut, New Jersey, and Rhode Island into one government, will please (see Note 28,) to send him over governor thereof, allowing him all the powers and privileges granted usually to the governors of New York, with power also to go out of his province so often as he shall think good to visit the other provinces as bishop only, and to constitute, not only for the time of his absence but if he see necessary at all other times, a lieutenant governor under him.

Note, that this union of the four governments proposed is not of absolute necessity, only of great convenience, so that it may be omitted (especially if Canada be subdued,) and the bishop be made governor of New York only, with the powers and privileges before mentioned.

4.—That a maintenance may not be wanting suitable to his place and the great ends he is to promote, neither for the present nor future, it is requisite,

First, that if his Majesty is pleased to unite the four governments into one, that then he will please also to allow the bishop, as governor thereof, £1500 per annum, out of which a reasonable part or portion shall be paid to the lieutenant governor; or if New York be continued as it is at present, and he

sent over as governor thereof only, that then his Majesty will please to allow him £1000 per ann. salary (out of which the lieutenant governor to have a reasonable part,) and all the other profits, benefits, and privileges which the present governor of New York enjoys; and also leave and power to search for (if he please) and open royal mines, as of silver, etc., if he can find any such, either in Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, or New Jersey, on condition that in so doing he make use of the service of negroes only, and to pay to his Majesty such a proportion of the metal as, the charges and goodness of the ore considered, shall seem reasonable.

Second, That, to make up the abatement of his salary by that part allowed the lieutenant governor, his Majesty will please, so soon as opportunity presents, to give him some considerable preferment in England that does not require his personal residence.

Third, That his Majesty will please to allow him all licenses of marriage and probates of wills, and other things usually belonging to the bishops of England, and at present withheld from my Lord of London, and these to be given to himself as bishop, and those who shall be sent after him to serve in that station, now only in the province of New York and its dependencies, but hereafter in the other provinces also, so soon as religion shall come to be fully established therein: these particulars, if

granted, will well suffice for a present maintenance ; but then we must not neglect to propose a method of providing and settling a future maintenance that may be peculiar to himself as bishop, when he is so only, not constituted governor, as at present he is supposed to be, but when some other gentleman is sent over in that station, that he may then have wherewithal to maintain his family and keep up hospitality. Besides what [is] already considered, that will then remain to him, these further particulars are necessary to be put in practice :—

1. That his Majesty will please to give him the farm in New York, commonly called the king's farm, for a seat for himself and successors, which, though at present a very ordinary thing, yet will it admit of considerable improvement ; and since this farm, renting at present for sixty bushels of wheat per annum, in the whole at four shillings per bushel, amounting to £12 New York money, is at present an advantage to the governor, that I may not seem not to care how much I impoverish the governor so I enrich the bishop, I further propose that the bishop be obliged, when himself is not governor, to render an equivalent to the present rent, either by giving yearly so many loads of hay, or by settling so much land where he please, within two miles of New York, as shall be sufficient for that purpose, or to pay the sum of money itself, which shall be best approved of.

2. That his Majesty will please, by letters patent,

to grant him the propriety of the Mohawks land, that is, so much thereof as is now unpurchased of the Indians, on condition that the first improvement he makes thereof shall be to settle in one or two towns, as shall seem best, 100 English families, on 5000 or 6000 acres of good land, the whole to be settled on himself as bishop, and his successors; and, for his encouragement, so to do with all the other land to be improved by him afterwards, as shall be best for the particular benefit and advantage of himself and heirs.

And that the Bishop may be the better furnished for some particular works of charity, such as converting the Indians, building churches, settling houses and a maintenance for ministers, etc., it is further humbly proposed—

1. That his Majesty, the Bishops, and other charitably disposed gentlemen, will please to make some contributions towards building a church in New York.

2. That his Majesty and my Lord of London, will please to give him the best authority and directions that may be for the obtaining a part of the revenue settled in New England for converting the Indians, such as shall be thought convenient.

3. That his Majesty will please to allow a chaplain to the soldiers at Albany in particular (to be paid out of the advance of their pay) who are lately gone over, and to be sometimes changed with him at New York.

4. Lastly, it is necessary that the Bishop carry over with him five or six sober young ministers, with bibles and prayer books, and other things convenient for churches, as shall be thought best.

Whosoever goes over with these powers, qualifications, and supplies, shall in a short time (through God's assistance) be able to make a great progress in the settlement of religion, and the correction of vice and debauchery in those countries; and, to be a little more particular,—

1. To those several vices of irreligion, drunkenness, cursing and swearing, fornication and adultery, thieving, and other evils accompanying them, he may put a stop by causing the good laws of England already made to be put in execution, and by providing others where those seem or are deficient; and also,

2. Which will remedy likewise the second head of inconveniences, want of a ministry, by settling ministers in those towns already provided for by Act of Assembly in some measure, and, as he best can, by supplying them with what is wanting, both for their private necessities and for the public exercise of religion, as allotting to them or purchasing for them glebe lands, promoting the building of churches, ministers' houses, settling schools with salaries, &c., by endeavoring so soon as may be, to provide for other places which are not provided for by that act, by exhorting, and, where good advice and persuasions will not prevail, by compelling,

ministers to live piously and soberly, and give a good example to their flocks.

3. By not suffering any justice of peace to marry in the province within ten miles of the place where any minister dwells, and endeavoring to promote the establishment of the like law in other provinces where it may conveniently be done, by causing the ministers and churchwardens to keep registers of all christenings, buryings, and marriages, according as in England is by law appointed, and always to take great care to prevent the marrying of any persons who are either one or both of them already engaged or married to others.

4. And where this is duly taken care of, another inconveniency will be well provided for. Men, although at present of many and different opinions, yet may be reconciled, in a great measure, by a pious and prudent ministry, who will seek to reduce them by good exhortations, to oblige them by neighbourly and charitable kindnesses, to encourage them by their own practice to live in the fear of God, and in brotherly love and unity one with another.

5. And though this method will greatly help towards the removal of the fourth inconveniency, yet it will not be completed without the assistance of his civil authority; that is, by causing a proclamation, or, if it seem necessary, an Act of Assembly, to be made, prohibiting all people to reproach any person for having been of Leysler's

or the contrary party; to vex or sue one another in law for any evils suffered in those times, or since; or to do any thing that may tend to the widening the breach or continuing the remembrance thereof, commanding them to forget things past, and to forgive one another; to live in peace, and to associate together as they did before that division, and as if such a thing had never happened: and by shewing himself indifferent to both parties, encouraging equally those of them who show themselves honest and virtuous, and truly well affected to his Majesty's interest. Thus may these several inconveniencies already mentioned be well redressed; but as for the conversion of the Indians, and the conquest of Canada, they will require, each of them, a particular chapter.

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## CHAPTER IX.

### OF CONVERTING THE INDIANS.

WHEN I speak of converting the Indians, by Indians I mean, principally, those five nations which lie between Albany and Canada, and are called: 1, Mohawks or Maquaes; 2, Oneides; 3, Chiugas; 4, Onundages; and 5, Penecas: (see Note 29,) of whom tho' most of the Mohawks are converted to Christianity by Dr. Dellius, and some of the Oneides



by the jesuit Millet ; yet the first not being yet established in any good order at all, and the last being converted to popery, I look upon the work as yet wholly to be done ; and if what has been already done is not a disadvantage to it, yet that little advantage is gained thereby, except a demonstration of inclination of the Indians to embrace the Christian religion. And though I mention only the five nations, yet do I not speak of them so as excluding all other septs and nations of them ; no—for I hope this, once performed and brought to a good pass, may be as a ground work to the conversion of all the rest, as opportunity shall present ; yea, possibly may be improved so far as to render this part of the continent truly civilized, speaking the English language, and submitting to his Majesty's government. And to begin,—

First.—That the person who undertakes this work should be a person of great authority, ability, and power, that he may the better persuade with them, and be the more respected, and abler to go through with such a matter, are things of so great advantage, that if they were not things already provided for, do deserve certainly to be put in the first place ; but it being proposed that the bishop himself who shall be sent over be the main-spring and mover in this work, I therefore, without saying more thereof, add,

Second.—That when he goes out of England he carry over with him one Dutch and English diction-

ary, interleaved with white paper; paper of several sorts and in considerable quantity, for writing and printing books thereon; nails, iron, glass, and lead, for the churches and ministers' houses; tools for joiners, carpenters, masons and glaziers, in such quantities as shall be thought convenient, or at least as the monies given for that purpose will allow.

Third.—That after his arrival there, he, with two other ministers whom he shall best approve of to be his assistants, set to learning that Indian language which is best understood by all the five nations; and for that purpose send for, and entertain in some employment about him, Mr. Arnhout, of Albany, (see Note 30,) the chief interpreter between the English and the Indians, who will be a great help to him in composing a dictionary, and learning the language; and get an Indian Bible and grammar from Boston, which will be likewise of some advantage to him.

Fourth.—That after he can speak Indian well, and translate elegantly, he then, as opportunity shall best present, call all the five nations together, and endeavour, in a discourse composed for that purpose, to instruct them, and, by the best arguments he can, to persuade them to embrace the Christian faith and be baptized; in which if it please God he succeeds, as there is great hopes he may, then—

1st.—To desire of the five nations so many sober young men of each nation as he shall think con-

venient to live with him some time, and learn to read and write in their own language, and also to speak the English tongue, and read and write in the same; and some others, in number about twelve, to learn the trades of joinery, carpentry, masonry, and glazing; and, in the meantime, while they are learning these things, one of the two ministers shall be appointed to instruct the Indians in Christianity, as may best be done, and to bring over those who do not consent upon the first proposal.

2d.—While the other minister is learning the young Indians to read, etc. himself, with his assistance, may translate, as of the greatest use and necessity, the Common Prayer Book, the thirty-nine Articles, the Whole Duty of Man, and Patrick's Psalms; and then afterwards, as they best may, ( ) Short explanation of the Church Catechism, Dr. Hammond's Catechism, some short preparatory form for receiving the holy communion, a morning and evening Prayer for private persons, and a Primer for children, with a short morning and evening Prayer, and Graces before and after meat; so many copies of each to be printed as shall be thought convenient, and no other book besides them to be translated or printed in the Indian language, especially not the Bible, that the (see Note 31,) Indians, through a desire to read them, may be stirred up to learn the English language, and so at length may be induced to exchange

that for their own ; for otherwise, the Indian nations being so many, it will be almost an impossible work to convert them and provide for their civilizing and instruction.

3d.—After the young men can read and write well, and are acquainted with our language, customs, and religious service, the manner and way thereof (in which they, as also those put to trades, are to be inured as much as may be), and admitted to holy orders, then to dispose of them, settling one in every castle, except where two small castles are near to one another, for both which one may well suffice ; and, for their better settlement, to cause to be built a church, a minister's house, and large room adjoining to it for a school, of wood or stone, as shall seem best and cheapest, (in which work the labour of those who learn trades will be very helpful) ; and after those things are perfected, gathering all the heads of the five nations together, to cause a maintenance by land to be settled for their ministry, that is the tenth part of their profit or income by hunting, fishing, fowling, etc., and of their corn and other fruits of the earth, with some peculiar advantages upon the account of their being school-masters, as it is intended they shall be. Those who are instructed in trades are to live among their countrymen, to teach them their arts ; and that they may find employment, they are to be put upon building houses after the English manner, keeping cattle and fowls, ploughing the ground,

and imitating the English in their other trades, ways of living, and customs, and one thing after another, that so, by degrees they may leave off their savage ways and become civilized, which, except it can be effected, it will signify but little to plant religion among them; therefore, so many other young sober Indians as shall be thought convenient may be taken in the places of those who are settled as ministers, and taught and instructed after the same manner they were, and put in their places too so soon as fit for it, either when any of them prove debauched, or improve not in knowledge, or neglect their duty (who in that case shall again be under instruction for their amendment or better information), or where any of them prove of eminent parts above the rest, and more sober and religious, who shall then be encouraged and allowed fit helps and instructions for the promoting the conversion of their neighbouring nations, which they may well do with the assistance of an English minister or two and the countenance of the bishop; and so in a few years, if this method be duly prosecuted, all the Indians on this part of the continent may, as'tis to be hoped, be converted to Christianity; and, when they are civilized, may easily be induced to submit to the English government by the bishop, whom they must needs look upon, respect, and obey as their spiritual father, and one who will, to be sure, advise them as shall be most for their real benefit and welfare. And when they come to such

a pass as that way can be made and means settled for arts and sciences to flourish among them, there is no doubt but many of them will become men of sufficient learning so that they may be instructed in the way of preaching, and have the full government and service of the Church of England settled among them, or acquainted with our laws, so as to be made magistrates, and govern the people by our statutes instead of their own rude and barbarous customs. The first of which when perfected, as it will be a great credit to the Church of England, so will the other be of great advantage to the civil state thereof; and both, I hope, tend to the glory of God and the eternal felicity of immortal souls.

But, till these designs can be fully accomplished, we must be contented to insist upon a method of religion that, though not complete as it should be, is yet such as the beginnings of Christianity among them will bear, and as is proper for weak teachers and ignorant hearers, and that to be this that follows:—

The ministers' duty in general among them is to be this: to pray for them, to read and administer the sacraments to them, to teach their children to read and to write, and speak English and their catechism, and to be thus ordered:

1st. He is to read Common Prayer among them (the lessons out of the Bible excepted) every Sunday and holyday, both morning and evening.

2d. On Easter Sunday, Whitsunday, the third Sunday in September, and on Christmas-day, after Common Prayer read in the morning and a psalm sung, he shall read to the people the thirty-nine articles of religion, and every other Sunday one portion of "The Whole Duty of Man," as they shall fall in order, and, when the whole is read out, shall begin again.

3d. Every first Sunday of the month, and on Good Friday, Easter-day, Whitsunday, and Christmas day, he shall administer the holy sacrament; and then the Sunday preceding such administration, upon notice thereof given, shall be read the exhortation in the Common Prayer-book appointed for that purpose.

4th. Every Sunday in the afternoon, at evening prayer, when the first and second lessons should be read in place thereof, after a psalm set he shall publicly catechise the children; those that are able to read, unto eight years of age, in the Church Catechism, from eight to twelve years of age in ( ) Short explanation thereof, and those from twelve to sixteen years of age in Dr. Hammond's Catechism, after which they may be admitted to the sacrament. The several catechisms shall be learned by heart by the children at home and at school.

5th. On the working days he shall teach the children to write, and to read, and to speak English; for their reading using a Horn-book, The Primer,

the Church Catechism, etc.; for teaching English, to use those and the English translations of them, together with the other books, and also a grammar, with familiar dialogues to be composed for that purpose, and the Dictionary.

And by the just and constant observance of this method, there is no doubt but, through God's grace, they may be brought to and continued in a reasonable knowledge and practice of the Christian religion, till such time as, being thoroughly civilized, the whole discipline and government of the Church of England may be settled among them, and also duly practiced and observed by them.

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## CHAPTER X.

### OF THE METHOD HOW TO SUBDUE AND RESETTLE CANADA.

I AM now in the last place to speak of the conquest of Canada, that is, how it may be effected, a business in which, though the Bishop is not so much concerned as in the former, especially as to the warlike part, yet may he be more than a cipher, yea, of particular consideration in the settlement of it, if it please God to permit it to be subdued, as in the sequel will appear.

What the strength and condition of Canada is at present is pretty well made evident by the account thereof which I sent over about ten or twelve



months ago to the Right Reverend Bishop of London, a copy whereof I also had, which I lost (when I was taken prisoner) with my other papers, and in respect to that it is that this present method is laid down; and though it may be supposed, since that time, to be made rather stronger than become weaker, yet will it not, I think, be able to resist, if courageously invaded and prudently assaulted with the forces, and in the manner hereafter mentioned:—

1st. The first thing then to be done, in order to the conquest of Canada, is to pitch upon a general for the conducting and carrying it on; the general, then, is to be but one to command all forces, both by sea and land, that are sent or appointed for this purpose: for long experience has taught us, that equal and divided commands have ruined many noble undertakings and great armies. The wise and warlike Romans found this true, and, therefore, in their wars of greatest moment and danger, they generally had recourse to a dictator; and the success in the late invasion of Martinico has taught us the truth of it, wherein, as I have been credibly informed by impartial and eye-witnesses, the difference between the land and sea generals was the main, if not only, occasion of the miscarriage. As to his prudence, fidelity, experience, conduct, and courage, all great virtues and necessary in a commander, I have no need to speak thereof; his sacred Majesty, who is to pitch upon

and commissionate him, being a most excellent and incomparable judge in those matters.

2d. The second thing to be provided for is forts, and warlike provisions sufficient for such a design, and these to be either sent for [from] England or prepared in America. The forces to be sent from England are proposed to be three ships of war of from forty to sixty guns, well rigged and manned according to their rates, furnished with all warlike provisions necessary for sea-service and maintenance of the men; as to which there may be six months provision of beer and water, and of beef, pork, oatmeal, peas, and bread, etc., for twelve months, canvass for 4000 or 5000 hammocks, or rather so many hammocks ready made for the forces that are to be raised in America; and, for the land service, 500 soldiers, well armed and accoutred, young, stout, well exercised, and, so far as may be, unmarried; twenty pieces of ordnance proper for battering of walls, with sponges, ladles, worms, powder, and bullets, etc., and two or three mortar pieces with granado shells, bombs, carcasses, spades, mattocks, and also powder and ball for the forces to be raised in America, that nothing may be wanting, though the enterprise prove much more difficult than is expected, it being much better to bring back ammunition than to fail in a design for want of it: however, as to the quantities and kinds thereof, I submit to better judgments, and shall only say that it will be a commendable

care to see that the officers, both by sea and land, be such as are truly faithful and loyal to his Majesty. These ships, with all the particulars aforesaid, are to be ready to set sail by the middle, or, at farthest, by the latter end of February next.

The forces to be prepared in America, are to be these and in this proportion following:—New England 2000 men, Connecticut 700, Rhode Island and Martins-vineyard 200, New York 300, New Jersey 300, Pennsylvania 300, Maryland 400, Virginia 1000, and Carolina 300, amounting in all to the number of 5500, each man to have in readiness so much powder and ball as shall be judged requisite; and, if it be thought expedient, twenty carriages also may be made in New York for the twenty guns, to be sent over according to measures and directions to be sent likewise for that purpose.

The manner of ordering these forces and materials to be prepared shall be laid down under the next head, which is concerning the secrecy and privacy wherewith these affairs are to be carried on, which ought to be great so that the enemies may not get any foreknowledge of it; for, next to strengthening ourselves, nothing is more necessary than to endeavour to surprise our enemy, which is done, first by rendering him secure; second, by coming upon him unawares; and, third, by drawing away what strength or provision he already hath, as far as may be, from the place or places against which our designs are chiefly laid, which I conceive may

be done by ordering affairs in this manner following:—

1st. To prevent all knowledge, or even suspicion, of what is intended by the provisions made at home and sent over, the ships may be pretended as convoys to the Must fleet, and to the Virginia fleet; and as to the stores put aboard them, it must be done as privately as may be, though, of itself, it be a thing that will not much be suspected, because it has been usual to send over stores to the American plantations, neither will the soldiers be much taken notice of, they being but 500; besides, they may be put on board at Plymouth suddenly, and under pretence of better manning the ships; or, if there goes a squadron of men of war to guard the fleet out of the Channel, it may be pretended that it is to inure them to the sea service; and then they may be disposed of to several other ships, as if they were to come back again therewith after having seen the fleet out of danger; and at sea they may be put aboard the ships in which they are to go to New York: in short, many ways may be thought of for the concealing the intention of so small a preparation, and that particularly pitched upon which will seem most likely and proper for the time. But, then, besides the orders given to the captains of the ships publicly, and for that purpose, they must likewise have other sealed orders given them very privately, with command not to break them open till a certain time to be appointed, that is,

when they come to separate from the fleet, or when the fleet itself comes to separate, or, if they chance to be separated by foul weather, then to break open those orders wherein it shall be appointed them what port to go to, that is, New York; what commander to obey, that is the same who is made general of the land forces; how long to stay, that is, either till the design is effected, or till the coming out of some fleet according as the governor of the province where they are shall judge best for his Majesty's service; or if there be a great necessity and the ships proper, they may be sent out to cruise for privateers, or they may be ordered to visit Newfoundland by the way. One thing seems here proper to be mentioned, that is, that when these orders are opened, and the soldiers come to have some knowledge where they are going, their pay may be paid them till such time as they came aboard, and further advantages promised them for their encouragement.

It will not be amiss, if two French ministers, that are in orders of the Church of England, be sent over with these ships, for, if it please God the design prosper, there will be occasion for them.

2. For the more private carrying on of the design as to the forces prepared in the West Indies, it is convenient not to let it be so much as known to any person there (except that his Majesty shall please to communicate it to any of the governors) what is the true cause of raising the forces ordered

to be raised, and that may be done thus : It is now, while I am writing this, certain, that the French have a design upon the merchants trading on the coast of Guinea, and those trading into the West Indies. In order to the carrying on of the first, they are fitting out at St. Maloes four privateers, of from forty to fifty guns, and Monsieur de Gatine, commissary there, sent for one Captain — Piles, and Henry Pinson his mate, both taken on board a small Guineaman, and having good knowledge of the coast and trade, and present condition of affairs there, to examine them concerning the same. And in order to the carrying on of the last, the English prisoners that came about four days ago, that is, October the 6th, last past, from Nants, do assure us, that the French are there fitting out seventeen privateers of from twenty-five and thirty to forty guns, whereof twelve are already rigged and fitted, to be manned in part with English, Scotch, and Irish, and to be sent to the West Indies, to interrupt and spoil our trade, and make prize of our merchantmen there. Hereupon occasion may be very well taken, and letters ordered to be written and sent with duplicates thereof by ships in December next ensuing, or the beginning of January, to every one of his Majesty's governors, and also to those of the proprietors, wherein to be signified to each of them, that there is certain intelligence from France of their fitting out divers ships of war, twenty or more, and that they are intended

against our plantations in America. That, therefore, it is his Majesty's strict charge and command, that every one of them cause to be armed, in their several provinces, such a number of their choicest men as shall, by one, two, or three hundred, exceed the number before set down, and to meet at their chief port town by the 1st of April, and there to see that they be well armed, and every man provided with a proportion of powder and ball, to be appointed and to exercise them daily till further order; and, in the meantime, to see that whatsoever of his Majesty's ships are in their several ports, be cleaned and fitted for sea, so as to be ready to sail with the first order; and also to fit and prepare a sufficient number of good ships and sloops, and provisions of bread, beef, beer, pork, and peas, etc. for six months, in case there be occasion to transport the soldiers from their province to any other where it shall appear the enemy does chiefly intend his invasion, of which warning may be promised them by an express so soon as there shall be certain notice thereof.

And over and above this, orders may be sent to the Governor of New York, in particular, to make the twenty carriages as before; and to cause to attend at New York, from the 1st of April till further order, Robert Sanders of Albany, and five others that can give the latest and truest account of the present state and condition of Canada, without letting them know what they are caused to wait for,

but only, in general, that it is for his Majesty's service ; and that they shall be paid for the loss of their time, or else they may be kept under arms as men of special service and courage, which shall seem best to him, for concealing the true reason of their attendance. As for the carriages, he may pretend for the making thereof, that he has notice of so many guns of such a sort or bigness coming over, and order to have carriages for them in as much readiness as may be ; that so soon as he has them they may be presently fitted for use, and planted where he shall think most convenient.

There may likewise with these, other orders be sent him, not to be broken open till the 1st of April, wherein it may be signified unto him that his Majesty, looking upon the French preparations as intended against New York, would send some ships of war over to his assistance, but that he immediately endeavour to stop any intelligence thereof from going to Canada. That he also send the several orders therein enclosed to the governors of the several provinces, to cause them forthwith to send away the exact number of forces chosen out of those armed and exercised according to former order, to the port of New York, he in the meanwhile to make all the preparation he can of victuals and lodging to entertain them, and, when they shall be arrived, to see they be well armed, and to exercise them, and acquaint them with the way of



camping and engaging, till such time as the ships, and a commander-in-chief with them, shall come.

Again, to divert the enemy from the care of those places against which this design is chiefly laid, that is Quebeck, and their other places of greatest strength, a third order must yet be sent to the Governor of New York, appointing him to raise the Indians of the five nations, and to join with them 200 of the garrison and forces about Albany, 200 from New England, and 100 from Connecticut (for the obtaining whereof orders are also to be sent him by the first ships), and to have them ready, so that on the 1st of May they may be ready to march towards Canada; and there, by endeavouring, or pretending to endeavour, something that shall tend notably to the advantage of our party and the disadvantage of the French, as the fortifying and settling Cadaraque, or, seizing on some French garrison, to draw down the Governor of Canada and his forces towards them, but to take great care to keep in places of security, and not to be too active, but only while away the time, and delude the enemy, unless he sees he can gain a considerable advantage without any great hazard of his men.

Lastly, the commander-in-chief sent from England is to receive his commission for this service privately from his Majesty, wherein to be appointed commander-in-chief of all the aforesaid forces by sea and land, as well as those on Albany side as those which are to be transported by sea to Canada,

with orders to sail directly for New York; and there, embarking his forces, with all possible speed, to make the best of his way for Canada, to prevent as much as he can any notice the enemy may have of his coming, and with instructions to make use of the foresaid Sanders and the others, appointed to give him information of the country and places of landing and advantages; to keep his soldiers from plundering, deflouring women, drunkenness, swearing, cursing, and all other debauchery; to proceed prudently, courageously, and valiantly, in the endeavouring to conquer Canada, till such time as it is thoroughly subdued, and then to return as shall be ordered and directed by his Majesty. There are other things to be added to his instructions in case he succeeds, which you will find couched among what follows.

In case, then, that this design succeed, his Majesty may please to appoint the bishop proposed to be sent over governor of New York, to be also governor of Canada, and every part and place thereof, as it shall come to be subdued, with power to constitute a lieutenant-governor thereof at his discretion, till such time as his Majesty's pleasure is further known; with power also, to appoint and order all matters ecclesiastical, and civil, as shall be best for the setting that province in the possession of the English.

Orders and instructions to be given, both to the

bishop as governor, and to the commander-in-chief, may [be] these :—

1.—That special and constant care be taken that the soldiers and seamen straggle not from the camp, nor plunder the country, burn houses, or destroy the corn, either growing or in the barn, nor the cattle of what sort soever, but that they preserve all things as in a country which it is hoped may come through God's assistance to be their own ; and, therefore,

2.—All provisions, of what sort or nature soever, whether for man or beast, are to be secured for and given notice of to the governor and commander-in-chief, or either of them, that they may appoint what quantities thereof shall be sufficient for the maintenance of the army, or the prisoners, or victualling the ships for their voyage homeward.

3.—All prisoners are to belong to the King (slaves only excepted), to be civilly treated and used, and to be disposed of as the governor shall appoint, which may be after this or the like manner :—those who are of best quality, with the priests and other religious persons, to be sent home to England by the ships of war ; two hundred families of husbandmen that are willing to stay, to be left and settled upon reasonable and encouragable terms, as tenants to those gentlemen and others to whom lands shall be given ; three hundred or four hundred families more to be appointed for New York, where,

if they are willing, they may be encouraged by the bishop to settle on vacant land, and in time may be converted to Protestantism by French ministers sent over for that purpose, and obliged to learn and use the English tongue and religion, and all the rest may be divided proportionably to each province, to be carried thither in the ships belonging thereto, where they may be encouraged to settle if they will, and, if it be thought for the weal of the province to encourage them, or otherwise to be sent prisoners to England in merchant ships, as opportunity shall present.

4.—All the ships taken in the voyage thither, or in port there, to be condemned in the first English port they come to, and to be disposed of by the governor there, as is appointed by law in such cases. And all towns, forts, castles, houses, instruments of husbandry, as ploughs, carts, harrows, etc., and working cattle, as horses, oxen, asses—and all warlike provisions, as great guns, small arms, powder, ball, swords, bagonets, etc., and the whole country, improved, or unimproved, to belong to the king, and to be disposed of by the governor as shall be best for his majesty's interest and advantage, and encouraging their settlement of the province, except as in the article following.

5.—All things belonging to religion and ecclesiastics, as churches, monasteries, nunneries, with the grounds and estates belonging to them, as also the money, plate, books, and all things in them

and belonging to them, as horses, cows, sheep, instruments of husbandry, household stuff, and also the books found any where in other houses, to be given to pious uses, and to be disposed of by the bishop, and settled as shall seem to him best for the encouragement of religion in Canada, New York, or elsewhere, in any other of the English provinces; only to be excepted, that if there be any goods or chattels, whether money, plate, household stuff, or other things proved not to belong unto religious persons or uses, but put there only for concealment and security, etc., they are, in that case, to be delivered up, and ordered by the bishop to be laid to the common spoil, and, as such, to be divided with the rest among the soldiers.

6.— All other goods, not before excepted, whether money, plate, slaves, household stuff, or merchandize, etc., shall be gathered together and divided between the officers and soldiers, as is usual to be done in such cases; in which division the governor shall have an equal share with the commander-in-chief, and the rest according to their proportion. And, for the better and more equal division, it shall be appointed, 1st, That all men concerned in the service, seamen or soldiers, shall have part of the spoil without being defrauded or cozened thereof. 2d, that the Indian goods, as duffels, shirts, knives, hatchets, etc., be particularly set apart to be given to our Indians as their part of the prey, and, if there be any overplus thereof, it shall be given to

those who shall remain in the country to trade therewith, either with our own Indians or those of Canada, who, if they will submit quietly, shall not be suffered to be prisoners to our Indians, but reckoned friends to us, as at present they are to the French. 3d, That every man, of what rank or quality soever, shall be bound to deliver up to the common heap all the spoil he shall get of what nature soever; and that whatsoever they shall find in houses or any other place which they cannot bring away, they shall not spoil it, but leave it undamaged for the benefit of those who shall afterwards come to settle there; and that whosoever shall offend in either of these particulars shall, by so doing, forfeit his part of the spoil, and be otherwise punished as the commander-in-chief shall think fit.

7.—All the arms and warlike stores taken from the French to be carefully gathered together, and laid up in the fort of Quebeck, and other convenient places, and there kept in good order and condition, so as to be at all times ready for use. All places of strength and great advantage, and disabled in the taking, or any ways in need to be better fortified, shall be duly taken care of and fortified in the best manner that may be, and furnished with great guns and stores convenient for the defence thereof; for which purpose the guns and mortar-pieces carried over, together with any taken by the way, or in harbour there, or on land, with

sufficient quantities of powder, ball, etc., shall be left there, to be disposed of in each garrison as shall seem necessary.

For the resettlement of this province the governor may—

1.—Appoint a house and land and other conveniences for the bishop, and houses, lands, etc. for the ministers out of those belonging before to and set apart for that use, with schools, a library, etc. as best may be done.

2.—Dispose of the lands, houses, instruments of husbandry, etc. on such terms and with such provisions as shall be reasonable and proper for the King's profit, the landlord's advantage, the tenant's encouragement, and the clergy's maintenance; and that, first, to those of the soldiery from England, who, being married, will settle there and send for their wives over; and, second, to those who being unmarried, and of those soldiers or of the forces come from any of the neighboring provinces, and desirous to settle and marry there any of the French maids or widows (such as they can prevail with), to every man according to his quality, place, and merit, and as shall seem best to the governor.

3.—Send to England, desiring encouragement may be given to the French Protestants to come over and settle there with their families, which it is believed many of them will willingly do, if they

be assured to have lands, houses, etc., given to them on reasonable terms, as it is intended they shall. And this is the method which I promised to lay down as proper for the subduing and resettlement of Canada; which, if it be not so complete as it ought to be, or not likely to be so effectual as I hoped it might, in the judgment of understanding persons, if yet it will serve but as the first lines of a draught, or a motive only to enable heads to do better, I shall not only be contented, but very glad, and not think that I have lost my labour.

SOLI DEO GLORIA.

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### MR. MILLER'S INFORMATION

*Furnished to the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, Sept. 4, 1696.*

“That there are about 3000 Families in New York and about 5000 Families in Connecticut

That he was at Albany when the French came down that way in the year 1693. It was into the Mohacs Country, beyond Schenectidy. There were of them about 2 or 300, and as many of their Indians. The Force sent against them was from Albany much about the same number (English and Indians) under Major Schuyler, who speaks



the Indian Language. Other forces sent from New York came too late. Major Schuyler's Order from Colonell Ingoldsby who commanded in Albany was that when he found he was near the Enemy he should fortify himself; He did so; And in the mean time while sent out detachments who in several attacks killed about 30 or 40 of the French party, whereupon the rest fled and have not since returned. This was the only incursion of any moment that was ever made upon that Country before his coming away in June 1695.

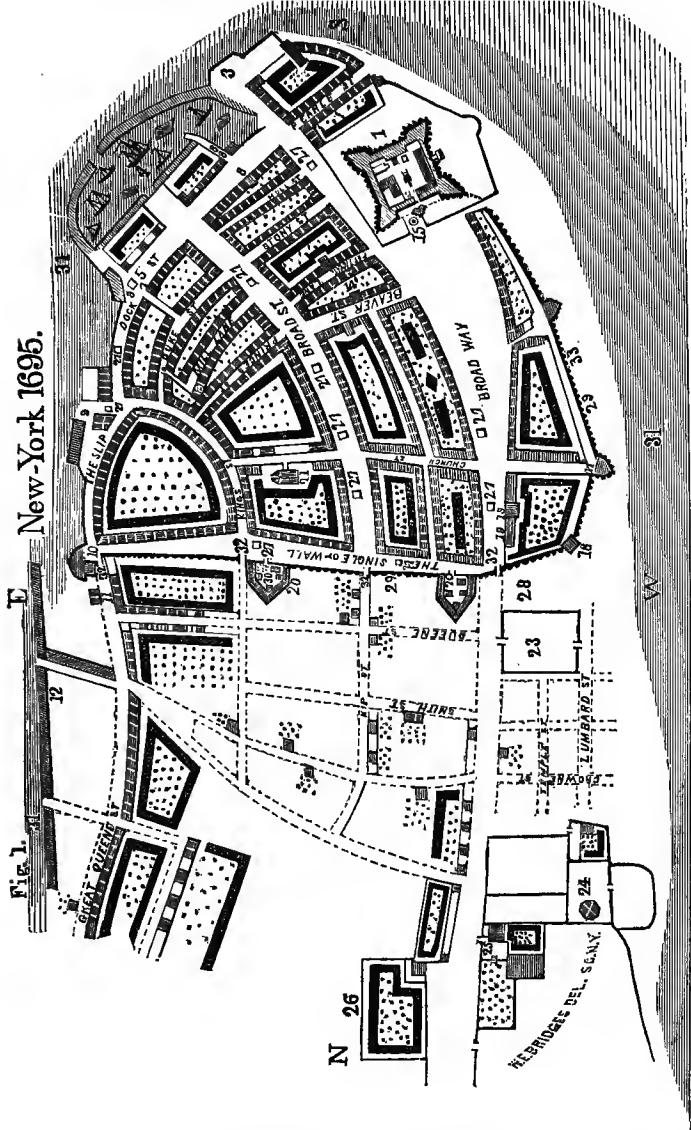
That the town of Albany is fortified only with stockado. There is but one Minister of the Church of England and one Schoolmaster in the whole Colony of New York. A Dutch minister there had instructed some Indian children. But the English in New York had not endeavoured it. There are many interpreters.

That the Trade of Albany is chiefly Beaver. Formerly it may have been to the value of £10,000 a year but is now decay'd, by reason of Warr between our Indians and the French, not diverted to any other place. The burdens also of that Province have made 2 or 300 families forsake it, and remove to Pensilvania and Maryland chiefly and some to New England.

That the presents usually given to the Five Nations are not distributed to particular Men amongst them: But in general to the whole. It is done in

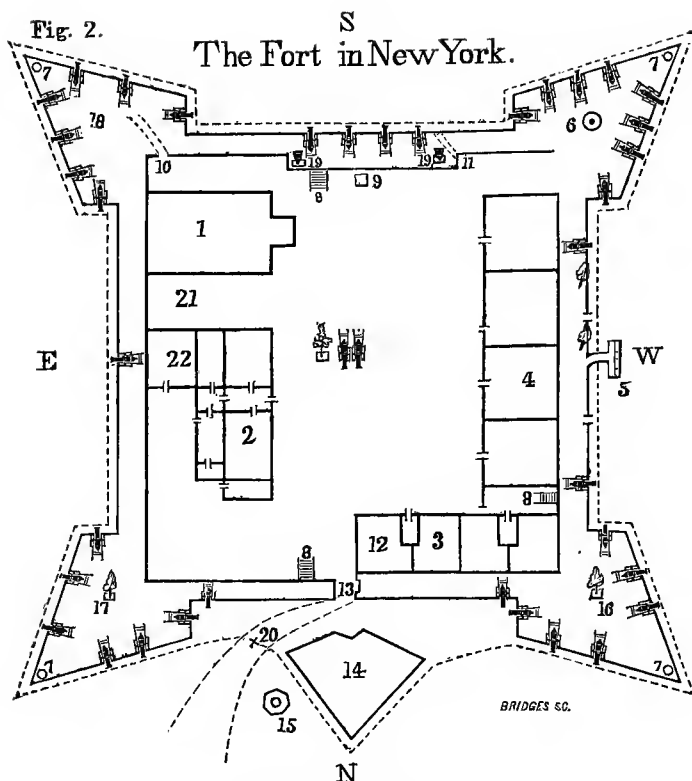
the Governor's name as by order from the King. Their returns are in Beaver and Otterskins to the value of 20 or 40 £. Those presents of theirs are made to the Governor: He is doubtfull if not sometimes mentioned for the King.—*New York Col. Documents*, IV, 182.

Fig. 1. New-York 1695.



# THE EXPLANATION OF FIG. 1.

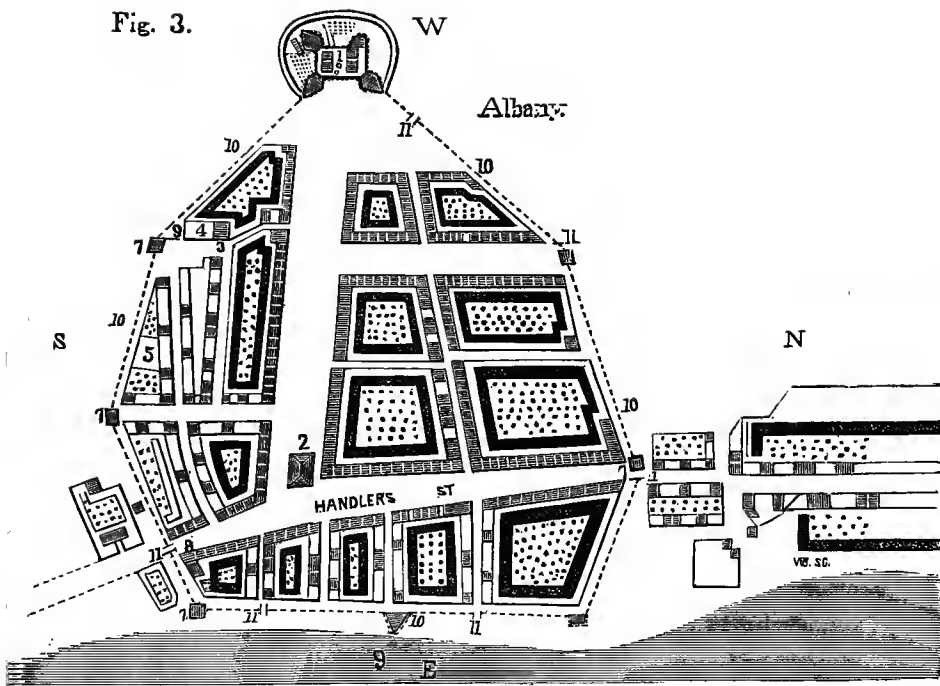
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|---|--|
| 1. The chappel in the fort of New York.           | 20. 20. The stone points on the north side of the city.      |
| 2. Leydler's half moon.                           | 21. The Dutch Calvinist church, built 1692.                  |
| 3. Whitehall battery of 15 guns.                  | 22. The Dutch Calvinist minister's house.                    |
| 4. The old dock.                                  | 23. The burying ground.                                      |
| 5. The cage and stocks.                           | 24. A windmill.  |
| 6. Stadthouse battery of 5 guns.                  | 25. The king's farm.   |
| 7. The stad (or state) house.                     | 26. Coll. Dungan's garden.                                   |
| 8. The custom house.                              | 27. Wells.   |
| 9. The bridge.                                    | 28. The plat of ground designed for the E. minister's house. |
| 10. Burgers, or the slip battery of 10 guns.      | 29. 29. The stockado, with a bank of earth on the inside.    |
| 11. The fly blockhouse and half moon.             | 30. The ground proper for the building an E. church.         |
| 12. The new docks.                                | 31. 31. Shewing the sea flowing about N. York.               |
| 13. The French Church.                            | 32. 32. The city gates.                                      |
| 14. The Jews synagogue.                           | 33. A postern gate.  |
| 15. The fort well and pump.                       |  |
| 16. Ellet's Alley.                                |  |
| 17. The works on the west side of the city.       |  |
| 18. The north-west blockhouse.                    |  |
| 19. 19. The Lutheran church and minister's house. |  |



THE EXPLANATION OF FIG. 2.

- |                                   |   |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| 1. The chappell.                  | 13. The fort gate.  |
| 2. The governor's house.          | 14. A horn-work before it.                                      |
| 3. The officers' lodgings.        | 15. The fort well and pump.                                     |
| 4. The soldiers' lodgings.        | 16. Stone mount.  |
| 5. The necessary house.           | 17. The Iron mount.   |
| 6. The flag-staff and mount.      | 18. The Town mount.   |
| 7. 7. The centry boxes.           | 19. Two mortar pieces.  |
| 8. 8. Ladders to mount the walls. | 20. A turn-stile.   |
| 9. The well in the fort.          | 21. Ground for additional building to the gov-<br>ernor's house |
| 10. The magazine.                 | 22. The armory over the governor's kitchen.                     |
| 11. The sallyport.                |   |
| 12. The secretary's office.       |   |

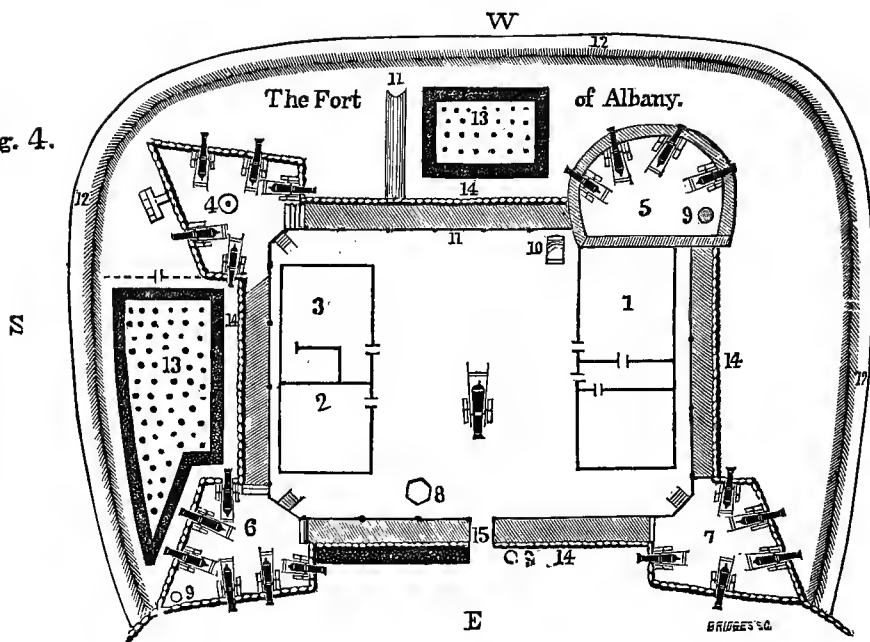
Fig. 3.



THE EXPLANATION OF FIG. 3.

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|---------------------------------------|--|
| 1. The fort of Albany.                | 7. 7 The block houses.                     |
| 2. The Dutch Calvinist church.        | 8. The stadt-house.                        |
| 3. The Dutch Lutheran church.         | 9. A great gun to clear a gully.           |
| 4. The burying place.                 | 10. 10. The stockado.                      |
| 5. The Dutch Calvinist burying place. | 11. 11. The gates of the city, six in all. |

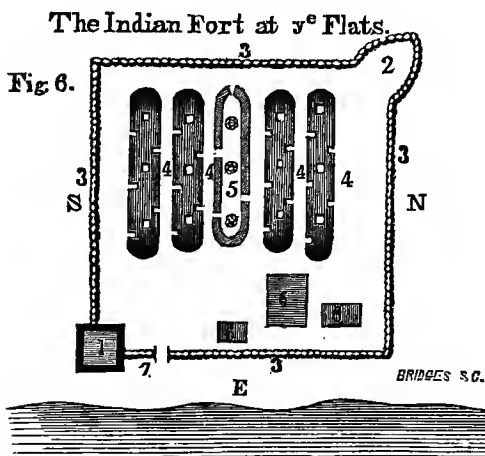
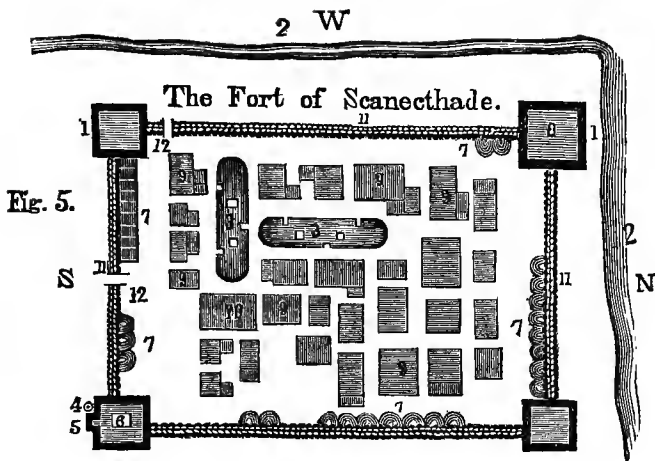
Fig. 4.



THE EXPLANATION OF FIG. 4.

1. The governor of Albany's house.
2. The officer's lodgings.
3. The soldier's lodgings.
4. The flag-staff and mount.
5. The magazine.
6. The Dial mount.
7. The Town mount.
8. The well.

9. 9. The centry boxes.
11. The Sally port.
12. 12. The ditch fortified with stakes
13. 13. The gardens.
14. The stockado.
15. The fort gate.



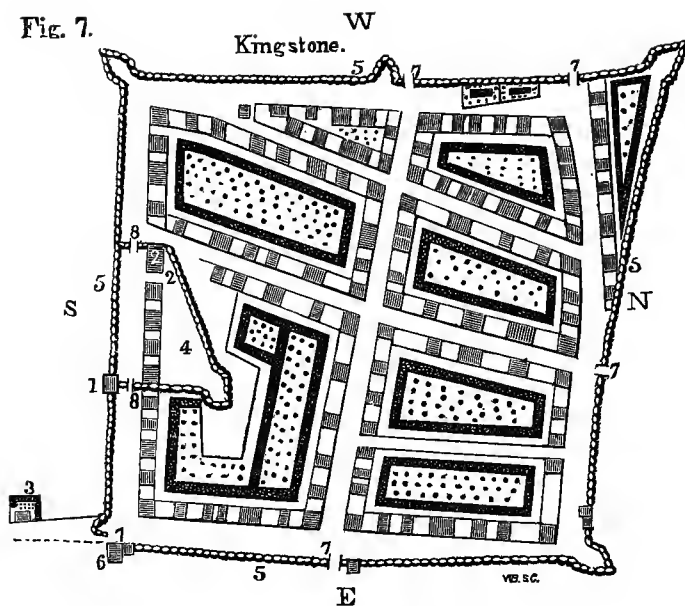
**THE EXPLANATION OF FIG. 5.**

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|---------------------------------------|--|
| 1. 1. The blockhouses.                | 7. 7. The sties for hogs.                    |
| 2. 2. Rivers running beside the fort. | 8. 8. The blockhouse, designed for a church. |
| 3. 3. Indian wigwams.                 | 9. 9. Those and others like them are houses. |
| 4. The flag-staff.                    | 10. A great barn.                            |
| 5. A centry box.                      | 11. 11. The treble stockado.                 |
| 6. The spy-loft.                      | 12. 12. The fort gates.                      |

**THE EXPLANATION OF FIG. 6.**

- |  |                                  |
|--|----------------------------------|
| 1. The blockhouse.                       | 5. A wigwam open.                |
| 2. The mount.                            | 6. Houses for the soldier's use. |
| 3. The stockado.                         | 7. The fort gate.                |
| 4. The Indian houses or wigwams covered. |                                  |

Fig. 7.



THE EXPLANATION OF FIG. 7.

- |                                      |   |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| 1. The blockhouse.                   | 6. The house where the governor is entertained. |
| 2. The church and burying place.     | 7. 7. The town gates.                           |
| 3. The minister's house.             | 8. 8. The gates to the separate fortified part. |
| 4. The part separated and fortified. |   |
| 5. The Stockade.                     |   |



## NOTES.

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### *Note 1, page 26.*

HENRY COMPTON, Bishop of London, to whom Miller addresses his work, was the youngest son of Spencer, Earl of Northampton, and born in 1632. After his education at Oxford, he remained abroad till the Restoration, when he became a cornet in a regiment of horse. Disliking the army, however, he entered the church. He was made Canon of Christ Church, Oxford, in 1669, became Bishop of Oxford in 1674, and the next year of London, which see he filled till his death in 1713. He had superintended the religious education of the princesses Mary and Anne, daughters of James, and was a strong upholder of the Church of England, against Dissenter and Catholic. During the reign of James, he was for a time, in fact, suspended, and his powers vested in a commission, so that we naturally find him among those who welcomed William. He crowned that prince, and for a time enjoyed his favor, but lost it, as did all of the high church party. During Anne's reign, he regained part of his former influence. As a prelate, he seems to have been zealous and disinterested, giving large sums to rebuild churches, and increase the income of poor vicars. In the affairs of America, he was one of the first of the English bishops who took any considerable interest. He was the author of *A Treatise on the Holy Communion*, 8vo., 1677; *Episcopalia, or Letters to his Clergy*, London, 1686; *Letters to a Clergyman*, 1688; *A Charge*, 1696; *Ninth Conference with his Clergy*, 1701; *Letter concerning Allegiance*, 1710; besides being translator of one or two minor works, but he attained no eminence as a man of letters. By the Charter of Gov. Fletcher, he was made the first Rector of Trinity Church, New York.

### *Note 2, page 28.*

The name of Long Island was changed to Nassau Island in 1692.—*Laws of the Colony of New York* (ed. 1719), page 17. But the name never obtained, and it still retains its original and appropriate title. On De Laet's map appears the name Matouwacs. Early French maps call it the Isle of the Holy Apostles and Ascension Island. An English colony on a grand scale was projected here by Ployden, and a very curious

tract written at the time, exalting the advantages of the island, has been recently printed, entitled: *The Commodities of the island, called Manati ore Long Ile which is in the continent of Virginia*. Staten Island means Island of the States, and was so called in honor of the States General of Holland.

*Note 3, page 28.*

The Counties received their names under James, and nearly all refer to him and the Stuart family. Kings and Queens were named after Charles II, and his Queen Mary; Duke's County, now in Massachusetts, and Dutchess were named after James and his wife; New York, Albany and Ulster, represent his titles on the English, Scotch and Irish peerages, and Orange was named in compliment to the Prince of Orange, who deprived him of his crown.

*Note 4, page 28.*

The length in a straight line is only 13 miles from the Battery to Kingsbridge.

*Note 5, page 29.*

The Stadthouse or Town Hall, was originally at the head of Coenties Slip, and was erected in 1642, by Kieft as a tavern, but in 1652, on the organizing of the city government, became the Stadt Huys. This house was the scene of some important events. Here, in 1664, the articles of capitulation were signed, which became the law of the colony, here too, the surrender of the colony to the Dutch again was made. It was made the first school house in 1652, and the first Court of Admiralty was held here in 1668. In 1696, a plan was adopted for a new city hall, at the head of Broad street, where the custom house now stands. This was completed in 1700, at a cost of near £4000, and the old Stadt Huys was sold for £920. This new city hall was that in which Washington was inaugurated president.

The fortifications at the Stadt Huys in 1688, were "a half moon most ruined and washed away by the sea," with three demi culverins.

*Note 6, page 29.*

The Burgers Path was the present Old Slip. This too, in 1688, was stated to be "most ruined and beaten down by the water." Its armament was four *seekers* and one *minion*. The reader who wishes to compare the state of the fortifications further will find a full description of their condition in 1688, in *Valentine's Manual* for 1855, p. 551-3.

*Note 7, page 29.*

Scanectade (Scheneectady), is the Mohawk. The name means beyond the openings. It was given by the tribe to Albany, and retained on the division by the present town.

*Note 8, page 29.*

NESTIGAYUNA. According to Dr. O'Callaghan (*N. Y. Colonial Documents*, IV, 184), "Canesteguine is laid down on Mitchell's Map of North America, 1755, and on Sauthier's Map of the Province of New York, 1779, on the north bank of the Mohawk river, a little west of the Cohoes Falls, in what is now Sarataga county." Lord Cornbury (*Ib.* IV, 968), says that it was fourteen miles from Albany in the woods.

The Half Moon was fourteen miles above Albany upon the river (*Ib.*). Colonel Römer, the engineer, in 1698 (*Ib.* IV, 440, 682), represented the forts at Albany and Schenectady as wretched, and like Gov. Fletcher and his successors, urged the erection of regular stone forts there, and the restoration of the forts at Kanestigionne and Half Moon, as the barriers of the frontiers.

*Note 9, page 34.*

WINE. The culture of grapes for manufacture into wine, early attracted the attention of Europeans, especially of the Spaniards and French, who were practically familiar with the proper mode of cultivation and the process of wine making. Full half a century before a plan was formed for colonizing Long Island chiefly to raise wine. Even in Canada, the missionaries inaugurated it by making wine of wild grapes for altar purposes, as early as the middle of the seventeenth century, and a good table wine was, it is said, made at Montreal not long after; but the French government, with the jealousy usual at the time, prohibited the planting of vineyards and the enterprise was accordingly abandoned. Some French colonists in Rhode Island, also manufactured wine about this time.—*N. Y. Col. Doc.*, IV, 787. Massachusetts sought to establish vineyards at an early day, and Governor's Island was granted to Winthrop in 1632, on condition of his planting a vineyard there.—*Young's Pilgrims*, 152.

In more recent times vine growing has been carried on with great success. The failure of imported vines induced the attempt to improve the native grape, and these have succeeded beyond all expectation. The Catawba grape and wine have acquired more popularity, and have given wealth and name to Nicholas Longworth of Cincinnati. In New York, the largest vineyards are those of *Dr. Underhill at Croton Point.*

In 1769, the government of Virginia embarked in vine growing, under the direction of Andrew Estave, but the experiment failed, and the lands and negroes were sold in 1776.—*Hist. Mag.*, IV, 219.

*Note 10, page 34.*

From the enumeration of roots it would seem that the potato was not yet cultivated to any extent, and it probably was not for thirty or forty years after. Potatoes are mentioned as being purchased for the dinner on the inauguration of President Leverett at Harvard College in 1707.—*Hist. Mag.*, V, 184.

*Note 11, page 34.*

The Dutch name for Shad was *Elft*, which also meant *Eleven*. Misled by this, or in jest, the early settlers called the Streaked Bass, Twaalf (*i. e.* Twelve), and the Drum, Dertien (*i. e.* Thirteen).—*Benson*. This gave rise to the statement here made by Miller.

*Note 12, page 35.*

MANUFACTURES. New York early attempted manufactures, and at this time, traded largely in staves, cloth stuffs and hats; but this spirit of enterprise did not harmonize with English views. Lord Cornbury well expressed those views in these words: "All these Colloneys which are but twigs belonging to the Main Tree (England), ought to be kept entirely dependent upon and subservient to England, and that can never be, if they are suffered to goe on in the notions they have, that as they are Englishmen, soe they may set up the same manufactures here as people may do in England, for the consequence will be that if once they can see they can cloathe themselves, not only comfortably but handsomely too, without the help of England, they who are already not very fond of submitting to Government would soon think of putting in Execution designs they had long harboured in their breasts."—*Cornbury to Sec. Hodges*. Cosby, at a latter date, wrote to the Board of Trade in regard to the prejudicial increase of hat making (*Letter of Dec. 18, 1732*), and Smith (vol. II, p. 278) notes that "hats were exported to the West Indies with great success, till lately prohibited by an act of Parliament."

*Note 13, page 37.*

REV. HENRY SELYNS was ordained at Amsterdam, Feb. 16, 1660, for the Church at Breuckelen (Brooklyn). He officiated there and at the Governor's Bowerly from September, 1660, to 1664, when he returned to Holland. De-

olining an invitation in 1672, he returned to this country in 1682, on the death of Mr. Drisius, and was pastor of the Reformed Dutch Church in the city of New York, until his death in 1701, being the eighth in succession from Dom. Michaelius. He was a man of learning and a poet, and his reputation was not confined to the Dutch nation and its colonies. He seems too, to have been laborious in the ministry. In the Leisler troubles, he, like most worthy men, incurred the hostility of the self-created governor.—*O'Callaghan's Col. Doc.*, III, 646. As a poet, he is in point of time, next to Steendam, and Mr. Murphy states that a MS. volume of his poems exists.

*Note 14, page 37.*

REV. P. PEIRET signed the address against Leisler in 1690 (*Col. Doc.*, III, 748-9), and died in 1705.—*Doc. Hist. of New York*, II, 247; III, 250.

*Note 15, page 37.*

As to Saul Brown, Dr. Fischel kindly informs me that he was simply a merchant, who officiated for a short time as reader in the Synagogue. He came to this city from Newport, R. I., where he had a brother David, whose name appears in the petition to the Assembly of Rhode Island, in behalf of the Jews of Newport, June 24, 1684.—*Bartlett's Colonial Records of R. I.*, III, 160.

*Note 16, page 37.*

REV. DAVID DE BONNEFOS was a French Protestant minister, who accompanied the first Huguenot emigrants from France. He was the first minister at New Rochelle, but the industrious historian of Westchester county can give us no details as to his labors, and we know the fact merely from a letter addressed by him to Leisler.—*N. Y. Doc. Hist.*, II, 304. In 1695, he was, as here stated by Miller, on Staten Island, but the next year describes himself in a deed as of New York.—*Bolton's Hist. of the Church in Westchester Co.*, 396.

*Note 17, page 37.*

It is an extremely curious fact, that the Mr. Vesey, dissenter, "without orders," here referred to by Mr. Miller, should almost immediately become the first resident Rector of Trinity Church, a benefice to which Mr. Miller himself had laid claim. The Rev. Wm. Vesey was a native of Massachusetts, and if we can believe Lord Bellomont, the son of a Jacobite, who had been pilloried at Boston for his adherence to the cause of the unfortunate James II. William was graduated at Harvard in 1691, and seems almost immediately to have gone to Long Island, where he was at the time Mr. Miller wrote.—

*Doc. Hist.* III, 265. When a body of church wardens and vestrymen was created for New York, they asked in 1695, the opinion of the Assembly as to their right to call a dissenting minister, and being sustained by that body called Mr. Vesey. Trinity Church was erected about the same time, and as Mr. Vesey was popular, Gov. Fletcher seems to have induced him to conform to the Church of England, and become Rector of Trinity. He accordingly proceeded to Boston, and was received into the Church of England, and armed with necessary documents, sailed for England, where he was ordained. He officiated for the first time as Rector of Trinity, on the 6th of February, 1697, and continued to discharge the duties of his post for nearly half a century, dying on the 11th of July, 1746.

*Note 18, page 37.*

MR. MOR was probably the Rev. John Morse, minister of Newtown. Alarmed by the act of 1693, which they regarded as an attempt to enforce the establishment of the Church of England, and provoked at it, as imposing an unjust burthen on them, the people of Newtown, resolved that "the town will call a minister to preach the gospel amongst us upon liking." They accordingly invited Mr. John Morse, born at Dedham, Mass., March 31, 1674, and graduated at Harvard in 1692. He officiated at Newtown, from Sept. 15, 1694, till his death in October, 1700. His ordination seems to have taken place in 1697.—*Riker's Annals of Newtown*, 126-131.

*Note 19, page 37.*

"The young man coming to settle in Westchester without orders," was Warham Mather.—*Bolton's Westchester*.

*Note 20, page 37.*

THE REV. GODEFRIDUS DELLIVS, was Dutch minister at Albany, from 1682 to 1699, and during much of the time, a conspicuous character in the affairs of the colony. He came over in accordance with an agreement made by contract at Amsterdam, July 20, 1682, by which he was to officiate as assistant minister at Albany, for four years from his leaving Texel at 800 guilders per annum in beaver or 600 bushels of wheat.—*Munsell's Annals of Albany*, I, 105; VI, 80. He missed the vessel on which he was to sail from England, and had to return to Holland, but finally arrived in August, 1683, when a subscription was made to meet his salary.—*Ibid*, I, 105.

He did not seem to have formed much attachment to the New World, as in 1685, he accepted a call to Heuclem, and was about to return to Holland; but he evidently married and settled down, laboring not only among the

Dutch, but also among the Mohawks, of whom he was the first Protestant missionary, and over whom he acquired great influence.

Leisler found in Dominie Dellius, one not disposed to recognize his authority. A letter of Father Lamberville to the Dutch clergyman, thanking him for an act of kindness to Milet a missionary held captive at Oneida, was in Leisler's eyes, sufficient ground for putting Dellius in prison, in 1690.—*N. Y. Col. Doc.*, III, 732. On getting free he retired to New Jersey, Long Island and finally to Boston. Sloughter recalled him in 1691.—*Ibid*, 772. Under Fletcher, he enjoyed great influence, and was employed to treat with the Indians. He availed himself of the occasion to obtain a grant of an immense tract of land, afterwards set aside as extravagant and illegal. The Earl of Bellomont at first regarded him with favor, and sent him with Schuyler to Canada in 1698, but soon after complained of him in the most violent terms, and brought such accusations against him that he was deprived of his church and ministerial function by act of the legislature in 1699.—*Col. Doc.*, IV, 510.

On this he proceeded to England, and subsequently, it is said, to Holland.—*Annals of Albany*, I, 88.

His register shows many Indians baptized and received as church members, from 1689 to 1699 (*Ib.* I, 96-101, II, 163-174, III, 61-82), the first being an Indian, aged 40 years, of the Ockkweese, Arnout Viele being sponsor. It was proposed to send Dellius out in 1705, as a missionary of the Propagation of the Gospel, but Col Heathcote opposed it.—*Doc. Hist.* III, 124.

He was alive in 1714, and applied to the Assembly for some arrears due him, part of which he obtained.—*Annals of Albany*, X, 223.

Dr. Dellius seems to have been a worthy clergyman, enjoying the esteem of his own flock, of the Catholic clergy of Canada, of the Episcopal clergyman at New York, of the New England divines, as well as of the Bishop of London and his own Church; and we must conclude Bellomont to have been prejudiced. The extent of Dellius' knowledge of the Mohawk, and his labors seems to have been, however, limited.

*Note 21, page 40.*

As Miller wrote while Fletcher was still in power, he makes no allusion to the piracies by which New York merchants of that day profited, yet the cases of Coats and Tew could not have been unknown to him, nor the part taken by the merchants in Hoare's cruises. As it was a time of war, Fletcher issued commissions to enable them to act as privateers against the French, but the real object was well known, and Fletcher's conduct led to his recall and to the appointment of Lord Bellomont with strict orders to stop all piracy. His attempt to do so by means of Capt. Kidd, and the piratical course of that commander are well known; but the end was effected, Kidd was the last of the New York pirates, and our merchants turned to less lucrative, but less

criminal investments. An account of the whole subject will be found in Valentine's *Manual* for 1857, p. 455-479.

A communication evincing much research touching the history and fall of Capt. Kidd, was drawn up by the Hon. Henry C. Murphy and published in the *Democratic Review*, between 1840 and 1850.

Gabriel Furman, Esq., the editor of the new edition of Daniel Denton's *Description of New Netherlands*, 1670, was an enthusiastic believer in the authenticity of a report which obtained great currency about 1840, that nearly all the ill-gotten treasures of Capt. Kidd, which were supposed to be very large, lay at the bottom of the Hudson river, near Caldwells, a little below Peekskill on the opposite shore.

He had amassed a large amount of material obtained from every accessible source, respecting the life and exploits of this famous outlaw, which he had intended to be given to the public in due time, but alas, alas, that grim and inexorable messenger, death, put an untimely stop to his useful career, as has been the case with thousands upon thousands of others, and will continue to be so as long as frail man inhabits this wandering globe.

*Note 22, page 43.*

MR. MILLER is here greatly in error. The States General of Holland in 1590, directed marriage to be performed by a magistrate, and the law was in force in New Netherland till the conquest. By the Duke's *Laws*, published March 1, 1664, title *Marriages*, it was made lawful "for any Justice of Peace to joyne Parties in Marriage." See the title in *N. Y. Hist. Society's Collections, Series 1, I., 362*. This has never been altered and is to this day the law of the state of New York. The rule of the Catholic Church which prevailed prior to the Reformation, does not require the intervention of a clergyman to perfect the marriage, the parties themselves forming the contract, and the officer, civil or ecclesiastical, being merely the witness thereto, and this is the law in New York.

That bigamy prevailed we may infer from the fact that one of Mr. Miller's immediate successors, the Rev. Symon Smith, was presented by the grand jury in 1699, for marrying Elizabeth Buckmaster, wife of Edward Buckmaster, to Adam Baldrige.—*Hist. Mag.*, VIII, 189.

*Note 23, page 46.*

The only Episcopal clergymen up to this time in the colony, if we except the Rev. Nicholas Van Rensselaer (ordained by John Earle, Bishop of Salisbury, 1663-5), were the chaplains to his Majesty's forces. These were:

1678-80, Rev. Charles Wolley, A. M. 1683, Rev. Dr. Gordon. 1684-6, Rev. Josias Clarke. 1686-9, Rev. Alexander Innes. 1693-5, Rev. John Mil-



jer. 1699-1700, Rev. Symon Smith. Rev. — Brisac. 1704, Rev. Edmund Hott. 1704, Rev. John Sharpe.

The establishment of the Church of England, however, dates from the conquest. As the kings of England from the time of Henry VIII., united in their persons the papal and regal powers, the extent of ecclesiastical was coterminous with that of the regal, and where the sovereign was king he was head of the Church, and the Church consequently existed in the eye of the law.

By the articles of capitulation of the Dutch authorities, in 1664, it was agreed that: "The Dutch here shall enjoy the liberty of their consciences in divine worship and church discipline;" but the English then in the colony, or those who might thereafter come in, could not claim any such privilege, nor Dutch or English claim exemption from the payment of church rates as established in England.

New York from this time was deemed a part of the diocese of London, or a dependence on the metropolitan see of Canterbury. The Duke of York, however, as a Catholic, felt doubtless no especial zeal in establishing the Anglican Church, and if a chaplain of the Established Church attended his expedition, his name does not seem to have been recorded.

The Duke's *Laws*, promulgated in 1664, directed: 1. The erection of a church in each parish; 2. Eight overseers to be chosen by the householders of the parish, who with the constable were to choose two as church-wardens; 3. Ministers to produce to governor, proof of ordination by some Protestant bishop or minister in some part of his majesty's dominions or the dominions of some foreign prince of the reformed religion. The duties of overseers were, among other things, the making and proportioning the levies and assessments for building and repairing the churches, provision for the poor, and maintenance of the minister. Subsequent laws directed churches to be built in three years, reduced the number of overseers to four, and at last imposed a double rate in towns that had not made a sufficient maintenance for their minister.—*Duke's Laws, New York Hist. Soc. Coll.*, I, I, 336, 407, 428.

In 1674, James, by an order of July 1, established a regiment at New York, with a chaplain, who was to receive a salary of £121 6s. 8d., "to commence from y<sup>e</sup> time y<sup>e</sup> Soldiers come on board and to be paid at New Yorke, and to be estimated after y<sup>e</sup> rates of Beaver there."—*N. Y. Coll. Doc.*, III, p. 220.

The first of these chaplains, the Rev. Charles Wolley, is the first clergyman of the Church of England of whose labors here we have any record. He was the author of a *Journal of a Residence in New York*, published in London, in 1701, and reprinted by Mr. Gowans of New York, in 1860. In the introduction to this latter edition, Dr. O'Callaghan has given the result of his labors to trace the history of the pioneer of the Episcopal Church in the city of New York.

The place of ministration was the chapel in Fort James, and even this was for many years shared with the Dutch clergyman and his congregation; but from 1674 a regular series of Episcopal chaplains succeeded, as to whom, however, we have few details.

In 1677, the Bishop of London, whose jurisdiction extended to all the colonies, complained of the neglect to establish a ministry in the various colonies (*Ib.*, page 253), and the next year Andros wrote: "The Duke maintains a chapline which is all the certaine allowance or Church of England, but people's free gift to y<sup>e</sup> ministers."—*Ib.*, page 262.

This condition lasted till James' accession to the throne, the Legislature convened in 1683, which established freedom of worship, making no change in the state of affairs. In 1686, Dongan wrote: "The Great Church which serves both the English & the Dutch, is within the Fort, which is found to bee very inconvenient therefore I desire that there may be an order for their building another, ground already being layd out for that purpose, & they wanting not money in Store wherewithall to build it."—*Ib.*, page 415.

King James found the machinery of the government in the hands of a party who controlled him and his successors, and the plan of actually establishing the Church took a decided form. The instructions sent out to Dongan in 1686 differ essentially from those which emanated from James, as Duke. This Catholic governor, under a Catholic king, of a province where the mass of the people were Dutch Calvinists, was required to see that the Book of Common Prayer was read every Sunday, and the Blessed Sacrament administered according to the Rites of the Church of England. No minister was to be preferred to any benefice without a certificate from the Archbishop of Canterbury, whose power in matters ecclesiastical was to extend to all but the collating to benefices, marriage licenses, and probate of wills, which important points were reserved to the governor.—*N. Y. Col. Doc.*, III, 688.

During the two ensuing years we find nothing done, however, to carry out this part, the governor being doubtless not over zealous in the matter.

Some most strangely have assumed Leisler's conduct to have been a struggle in behalf of the Dutch Church against the Established Church; but, unfortunately, the documents all militate against this convenient theory. All parties were so unanimous in their denunciations of James and Catholicity, that no domestic clashings of Protestants appear. Nicholson, who alone represented the Church of England, retired. The council who claimed to hold the reins of government, were mostly of the Dutch Church.—*Ib.*, p. 588. And on the other hand see *Leisler's Letters to the English Bishops*. Leisler, though a deacon in the Dutch Church, was no friend of the Dutch or French clergymen in the city.—*N. Y. Col. Doc.*, III, 646, n.; 651, n. Of an Episcopalian party at the time no trace appears in any document, and the only Episcopal clergyman, the Rev. Alexander Innes, who had been chaplain in the fort from 1686, took his departure soon after the commencement of the

troubles, bearing, as Leisler states, testimonials from the French and Dutch clergymen. The Episcopalians must have been few ("Here bee not many of the Church of England" (*Ib.*, 616), said Dongan), or they would have organized as a Church, like the Dutch and French Calvinists and the Lutherans.

Leisler's acts were not recognized in England, where Nicholson had been regarded as lieutenant-governor, and Sloughter subsequently appointed. The latter was sent by the Dutch Stadtholder, as king of England, to rule over former subjects of Holland; but the power that controlled the Catholic James, controlled the Reformed Dutch William, and the latter, like the former, gave his governor of New York instructions to establish the Church of England. The instructions to Sloughter are a copy of those to Dongan, with the additional injunction as to the maintenance for each orthodox minister.—*N. Y. Col. Doc.*, III, 688.

Sloughter on his arrival made this an early object of his care. On the 18th of April, 1691, the Assembly, on the recommendation of the governor to introduce a "Bill for settling the Ministry and allotting a maintenance for them in each respective City and Town within this Province, that consists of Forty Families and upwards," sent to the attorney-general to draw such a bill. The act as framed, was read on the 1st of May, but, "not answering the intention of the house, was rejected, and ordered that another be brought in."—*Journals of the Assembly*. The explanation of this is, doubtless, that the attorney-general drew such an one as would lead to the establishment of the Church of England, in conformity with Sloughter's instructions. The death of the governor left the matter in this state, yet the subject was not entirely dropped. On August 23, 1692, it was ordered that a bill may be drawn for the better observance of the Lord's day, and that each respective town within this province have a minister or reader to read Divine service. But Col. Benjamin Fletcher, the new governor, was a man zealously attached to the Church of England. On his arrival and at the first meeting of the Assembly he urged the settlement of a ministry. The house took it up reluctantly. On the first of April, 1693, it was "Ordered that the Committee formerly appointed for the settling of the Ministry and Schoolmasters do forthwith proceed upon that business."—*Journal*, 30. But the session came to a close without any action in the matter, which drew out a sharp rebuke from the governor.—*Smith's New York*, I, 130. When the new Assembly met in September, he again recommended the matter in such urgent terms, that a committee was appointed on the 12th, and three days after, their report was read and approved, and "It was ordered that a bill be brought in for the establishment of it (a ministry) accordingly." The speaker on the 19th, brought in a "Bill for settling the Ministry and raising a maintenance for them in the City and County of New York, County of Richmond and Westchester, and Queen's

County." It passed two readings, and was referred back. On the 21st it came up again amended, and passed the house, who transmitted it to the governor. The next day Fletcher and his council returned it with an amendment, requiring the minister, when called by the wardens and vestry, to be presented to the governor for approval and collation, but the house replied, "that they could not agree thereunto, and pray that it may pass without that amendment, having in drawing of the bill due regard to the pious intent of settling a ministry for the benefit of the people."

The governor replied to the house warmly, declaring that he had by letters-patent right to collate or suspend any minister in the colony (*Ib.*), but nevertheless gave his assent to the bill.

The act of Sept. 22, 1693, obtained by so much endeavor, did not on its face establish the Church of England. It provided that a good sufficient Protestant minister to officiate and have care of souls should be called, inducted, and established within a year in the city and county of New York, one in Richmond, two in Westchester, and as many in Queens; 2, that New York and Westchester should each raise £100 for the maintenance of their respective ministers; 3, that ten vestrymen and two church-wardens should be annually chosen by all the freeholders; 4, that wardens pay the maintenance to the minister in four quarterly payments.—*Laws of the Colony of New York*.

We have seen that under it Fletcher claimed the right of inducting: the Rev. Mr. Miller, the writer of this tract, took a broad view of it. Considering apparently that the act established a benefice or living, and that the governor by his commission had the right of presentation, he, in February, 1694, demanded to be inducted into the parish of Trinity, but his claim was not acknowledged.—*O'Callaghan, Col. Doc.*, IV, 182, n.

The vestrymen and church-wardens were actually chosen, and seem even to have acted. In 1695, five of them, a minority, applied to the Legislature to know whether they could call a dissenting clergyman, and the Assembly gave it, as their opinion, that they could.—*Journal*, 53. April 12, 1695.

Meanwhile the Episcopalians in the city of New York began, under the encouragement of Fletcher, to take steps to organize, and build a church, and having secured the ground commenced the erection of Trinity. On the 6th of May, 1697, Caleb Heathcote and others, "present managers of the affairs of the Church of England in the City of New York," petitioned Fletcher for a charter. This petition recites the act of 1693, that there was then no Church, that petitioners had built one, asks to be incorporated, and that the maintenance given under the act be assigned to the pastor, and a grant of lands near the church be given.—*Doc. Hist.*, III. The governor on the same day issued a charter in the name of the king, though by what authority does not appear, which recites the act, assumes it to apply solely to the Church of England, incorporates the managers as church-wardens and vestrymen of Trinity

Church, declares it to be the only parish church, and then proceeds: "And our Royal pleasure is, and we by these presents do declare that the said Rector of the said Parish Church is a good sufficient Protestant minister, according to the true intent and meaning of the said Act of Assembly, made in the aforesaid fifth year of our Reigne, entitled an Act, &c.; and such we do further of our like speciall grace, certain knowledge and meer motion, give, grant, Ratify, endow, appropriate, and confirm unto the said Rector and his successors forever the aforesaid yearly maintenance of £100."

The rector named in this charter was the Bishop of London, whose income was thus increased by a tax levied on all the inhabitants of the city of New York, and this by a mere act of the governor against the intention and will of the Legislature. It would be curious to study the details of this transaction, and ascertain how Fletcher was able to carry it through, as he apparently did, without eliciting a protest from the members of the Reformed Dutch Church; but the submission was to all appearance absolute, and though some of Fletcher's extravagant grants were set aside, including a lease to Trinity Church, in August, 1697, no allusion is made to the charter of Trinity, and by the consent of the governed, the church-wardens and vestrymen to be elected by all the freeholders of the city, under the act of 1693, found most of their powers vested in the church-wardens and vestrymen of Trinity Church elected by the Episcopalians only.

Dr. Berrian in his *History of Trinity Church* (page 13), is singularly inaccurate as to this charter. He says: "In the fifth year of the reign of William and Mary, 1697, by an act of Assembly, approved and ratified by and with the consent and authority of the Governor, a royal grant and confirmation were made of a certain church and steeple, &c." But there is no such act in the Colony Laws, and 1697 was not 5 William and Mary, and Fletcher's Royal Charter, is the only known charter of Trinity.

*Note 24, page 51.*

It would not be easy to give a more guarded and temperate account of the Leisler rebellion, than that here given by Mr. Miller. Leisler's conduct became a party question, and the popular party made him their great martyr. Yet it is very evident that he was neither the champion of the rights of the people as against the aristocratic element in the colony, the champion of the colony as against the mother country, nor the defender of the Dutch church and its liberties, against the encroachments of the Church of England. All these grounds have been taken at different times, but the documents of the period show no tokens of such struggles as to call for any championship of the kind. Leisler seems to have been a vain, ignorant, ambitious man, deluded perhaps in the outset, by a belief in the plots his fancy conjured

up, but once in a little power, resolved to push it to its utmost. Mortified at the treatment of the government in England which totally ignored him, he in a fit of disappointed ambition, resolved to resist the Governor actually sent out. He fired on the troops from England, and shedding blood, deserved his fate. Yet his execution was a political blunder; it became the stock of a party which for years, by its triumphs and defeats, retarded the prosperity of the colony. His Life by the talented Charles F. Hoffman, in Sparks' *American Biography*, is almost a romance, and we must await the day when O'Callaghan or Brodhead shall write the history of New York in that day, as now revealed, to have the real history of Jacob Leisler. For our own part, we add merely these few data:

Jacob Leisler was a German, who came out as a soldier in the West India Company's pay, in 1660. After the English conquest, he became a merchant, and acquired wealth. In a voyage to Europe, in 1678, he was taken by the Turks, and forced to pay a heavy ransom. In 1683 he was appointed Commissioner of a Court of Admiralty. In 1689, he usurped the government; In 1691, he was taken by Gov. Sloughter, tried, convicted, and May 16, 1691, executed.

The *Documentary History of New York*, II, 1-250, and the *Colonial Documents*, III, 572-796, contain the chief materials on Leisler's reign.

*Note 25, page 53.*

The Rev. Peter Millet was a Jesuit missionary who came to Canada prior to 1667. He went to Onondaga in 1668, on the invitation of and in company with the celebrated Garacontié. He labored here till 1671, when he replaced Bruyas at Oneida, and made this his missionary field till 1684, when on the breaking out of war, he proceeded to the camp of De la Barre. He was chaplain at Fort Frontenac in 1687, when Denonville seized the chiefs, and remained there till June, 1689, when, lured out to attend a dying Indian, he was taken prisoner and with much ill-treatment hurried off to Oneida. Here he was doomed to die, but he was too well known, and too much esteemed. His life was spared, a matron having adopted him. In this condition as a prisoner he remained till October, 1694, a source of great trouble to the colony of New York, the Indians refusing to give him up or send him home. After his return to Canada he remained on the mission till after 1701.

The anecdote of the Indian mentioned here by Miller is found elsewhere, the Indians frequently making the contrast as the Abnakis did in Maine, and the Iroquois in the next century in regard to Oswegatchie.

*Note 26, page 54.*

The French colonies in North America, now represented solely by the little islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, include on a French map a hundred years old all north of Mexico, except Florida, and a very narrow strip along the Atlantic. Its history begins in the unrecorded voyages of the Basque and Breton fishermen, the voyages of Verrazani and Cartier. Its first settlements were Port Royal, founded in 1604, and Quebec, founded in 1608. These colonies, were, however, neglected by the French government, which seems to have regarded them only as a field for the operations of the fisher or fur-trader, or the nobler operations of the Christian missionary. When an English force under Argal destroyed Port Royal in 1612, France scarcely noticed it, and when another English expedition, led by a refugee named Kirk, reduced both Quebec and Port Royal in 1629, the French government made so little effort that she recovered possession only in 1632 of the ruins. From this point, however, the colonization proceeded more rapidly, checked only by a constant war with the Five Nations south of Lake Ontario, whose hostility was a necessary consequence of the friendship of the Hurons of Upper Canada, and the Algonquins of the St. Lawrence. The nearest Europeans to the Five Nations were the Dutch, who by supplying them with arms rendered them a deadly scourge to Canada. Had the French Government at all regarded the value of its colony, it would have purchased or wrested New Netherland from Holland, and thus have controlled the Iroquois. Even New England, whose friendly Indians were molested by the Mohawks, would have viewed the step without alarm. But France lay dormant, till one day the Governor of Canada marching to reduce the Mohawks, found the English flag waving at Albany, and learned that the English king had ordered his governor of New York to unite with Connecticut and Massachusetts in reducing Canada. The Dutch had, but from avarice, aided the Five Nations; with the English it was policy, and from this date, February 22, 1666, when Charles II first ordered it, for a hundred years New England, New York and the Five Nations were stimulated in every way to crush Canada. Religious fanaticism was evoked, and the extirpation of their Roman Catholic neighbors was made so completely a part of their religious feeling, if not religious creed, that it furnishes the key to most of the events of the succeeding century, and when baffled by the power which called it forth contributed in no small degree to hasten the American Revolution, and still influences politics and literature. But while England thus menaced Canada, France was not idle. She now, too, began to plan the conquest of New York and of Boston; and from the date of the English Revolution of 1688, the Border war continued till the fall of Canada.

M. de Callières in 1689 proposed the conquest of New York, but the plan resulted only in the attack on Schenectady; the next year Phipps attacked Quebec by sea, hoping to be supported by Winthrop by way of Lake Champlain, but the latter was unable to proceed, and Phipps repulsed, enabled Louis XIV to commemorate by a medal the liberation of Quebec.

The French then repeatedly invaded the territory of the Five Nations, and in 1701 hoped under Iberville to reduce New York, but in 1709 New York and New England, under Colonel Vetch and Francis Nicholson, made another attempt to invade and conquer Canada, but the plan again failed, and the troops never took the field. In 1711, however, the attempt was again made by a land force under Nicholson, and a fleet under Sir Hovenden Walker, but Walker's fleet was wrecked on the St. Lawrence, and as before Nicholson's army dispersed.

In 1745 the French retaliated by advancing into New York and destroying Saratoga. This led to another abortive Canada expedition in 1745-6. Still pursuing the plan of subduing the French province, a triple army took the field in 1755; but Braddock was defeated and killed on the Monongahela by Beaujeu, and in New York the troops did not, even with their defeat of Dieckau, make much progress towards conquest. In 1759, Amherst again led an army northward, but winter set in before he could enter Canada. Wolfe's victory at Quebec, however, opened the way, and in 1760, Amherst's army of English and provincials entered Canada in triumph, and the wishes of the colonies nurtured for three quarters of a century were gratified.

The toleration which England granted the Canadians was quite naturally in the eyes of the colonists a grievous wrong. It contributed in no small degree to hasten the revolt of the older colony, and in 1775 an army entered Canada to wrest it from England, whom they had aided to capture it. Foiled then, America in 1812 again endeavored to accomplish her long cherished design, but having again failed, the flag she helped to rear above the homes of the French still waves.

*Note 27, page 57.*

The first proposal for an American Episcopate, of which we have any authentic record, was in 1672 or the year following. In one of these years, a resolution was taken by the king (Charles II) in council, to send a bishop to Virginia, and the individual was actually selected on whom the proposed honor should be conferred. Dr. Alexander Murray, who had been the companion of the king in his travels, was the person nominated to be the first bishop in America.—*Dr. Hawks. P. E. Hist. Society Coll.*, 1, 137.



*Note 28, page 60.*

This union of the Colonies was a subject frequently brought up. It was one of James II's ideas, and William attempted it. The endeavor to unite Connecticut to New York is well known, and the appointment of Bellomont to Boston and New York was a reverting to the days of Andros. In the *New York Colonial Documents*, there is a curious summary of the reasons of the different colonies for opposing such a union. William Penn's plan of such a union will be found in vol. IV, p. 296.

*Note 29, page 66.*

The Iroquois consisted of five nations, Mohawks, Oneidas, Cayugas, Onondagas, Senecas, occupying the heart of what is now the State of New York. The Mohawks lay on their river of that name, the Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, successively to the west, near their lakes, and west of all, towards the Niagara, lay the Senecas. These names, except the first, are corruptions of their own. The Mohawks called themselves Gagnieguehague, but as the tribe collectively was styled Ganniegari, the She Bear; the neighboring Algonquin tribes called them Maqua, the Bear, a name which the Dutch and English accepted.

These five nations formed a league, and in their idea, constituted a complete cabin, hence the name for the whole was Hotinonsionni, meaning "they form a cabin."

The family of tribes to which they belonged was widely extended. On both sides of the Niagara were the Attiwandawonk, or Neuters, absorbed by the Senecas, beyond them, on Lake Huron, were the Tionontates, or Dinondadies, now called Wyandots, and dwelling in our west; still further on, were the five nations of the real Wyandots, of whom one nation and fragments of others were absorbed by the Senecas, and other Iroquois tribes, and such as escaped war and famine removed to Quebec.

Some distance inland, to the south of Lake Erie, lay the Erie; east of them the Tiogas; on the Susquehanna the Andastogues, or Susquehannas, called Minquas, by the Dutch. The Patuxents and Piscatoways, of Maryland, were apparently of the same stock, and so certainly were the Meherrin, Nottoway and Chowans, of Virginia. The Tuscaroras of Carolina, were the most southerly tribe of the family\* unless we are to class the Cherokees as really belonging to it.

\* Mr Gallatin supposed this family divided into two groups, but he failed to identify the Susquehannas with the Andastes, and had confounded these last with the Guyandottes, who were simply the Wyandots, both words being English forms of the name which the French wrote Wendat. The Iroquois origin of some of the Maryland tribes he had not observed, and we may hereafter identify some more of those in Virginia as belonging to this family. We possess vocabularies of the following dialects. 1 Hochelaga, 2 Wendat, 3 Tionontate, 4 Mohawk, 5 Oneida, 6 Cayuga, 7 Onondaga, 8 Seneca, 9 Susquehanna, 10 Nottoway, 11 Tuscarora.

The five nations, or Iroquois, according to their own traditions and those of the neighboring tribes, dwelt formerly on the St. Lawrence, as far down as Gaspé, Quebec, and Three Rivers. The Algonquins drove them back, and Cartier, in 1534, found their first village on the Island of Montreal, although some were still intermingled with the Micmacs.

Of their history during the rest of the sixteenth century, we are almost entirely ignorant. The Mohawks, in a war with the Susquehannas or Andastes, had been nearly annihilated. At the beginning of the seventeenth, we hear of the Iroquois through the French in Canada, the Dutch in New York, the English in Virginia. Champlain having secured the friendship of the various Algonquin tribes on the St. Lawrence, and of their allies, the Hurons in Upper Canada, hoped by active hostilities to drive the Iroquois to peace; and in May, 1609, set out with a war party of Hurons and Algonquins to attack the Mohawks. They ascended the Sorel to Lake Champlain, and on the 29th of July, met and defeated a Mohawk war party, on the banks of the Lake. The next year the French and their allies, defeated another party on the Sorel, and for some years the Mohawks, deterred by fire-arms, seem to have held aloof.

Meanwhile Champlain had proceeded to the Huron country, and in September, 1615, joined an expedition against the Entouhonorons, apparently the Onondagas, and in October attacked their fort, but failed to take it, although Champlain built a tower to overtop their palisade. This victory elated the Iroquois Cantons, who had secured the friendship of the Dutch by the treaty of Tawassgunshee, in 1618. Obtaining fire-arms, they invaded Canada in 1621, attacked a French party near Montreal, and invested Quebec. A short lived-peace was concluded in 1624. Full of proud defiance, they continued the war with the Mohegans, and in 1625 killed the Dutch commander at Albany, Van Krieckebeck, who had rashly joined a Mohegan war party.

This victory made the Dutch henceforth neutral, and the fall of the French power in Canada gave the Iroquois time to deal such blows on the Hurons and Algonquins that they never recovered. In vain did the French, who recovered Canada in 1632, endeavor to shield their allies. The Iroquois war parties scoured the country far and near, spreading on all sides the terror of their name. Whether from policy or from accident, they rarely cut off English settlers.

In 1639 they destroyed Ehwaé, a town of the Dinondadies; in 1642, cut off the Hurons from the French, and defeated the Huron flotilla under Ahasistari. The missionary Jogues then taken and led to the Mohawk. Though a party of Mohawks was repulsed at the walls of Fort Richelieu, the next year they led another missionary in triumph to their village. They also destroyed another Huron town, and cut off many parties of Algonquins, notwithstanding the skill and bravery of the able Pieskaret.

In the summer of 1645, the Mohawks made peace with the French and their

allies, at Three Rivers, and the French hoped by converting them to Christianity to make the peace durable, but Father Jogues, the missionary, on proceeding to their town, in 1646, was put to death. They plundered Three Rivers in 1647, cut off by treachery their great antagonist, Pieskaret, and completely ravaged the Huron territory.

The force sent out by the League must have been very large. Every strategic point near the French settlements or on their trading routes was occupied, and a large army entering the territory of the Hurons and of the Attiwandaronks, or Neuters. The Hurons lost many, and deeming their frontier too exposed, abandoned Taenhatentaron and St. Johns.

But the Iroquois, on the 4th of July, 1648, took and destroyed the fortified town of Teananstayae, or St. Joseph's, killing the missionary Daniel and his flock.

After destroying the town of St. Ignatius, in March, 1649, they attacked the strong town of St. Louis, which after severe loss, they carried by storm, putting all to death, the missionaries Brebeuf and Lalemant expiring in the most exquisite tortures. An attempt was then made on the town of St. Mary's, but the Hurons made a stand before the town, and though defeated, the Iroquois suffered too severely to think of advancing.

The Huron nation was destroyed; one tribe, the Scanonaerat and a part of the Arendahronon, submitted to the victors, and removed to the Seneca country. Fifteen towns were burnt by the inhabitants, who fled in various directions, some to the Tionontates, some to the Eries, others to the Andastes on the Susquehanna. The missionaries with one remnant remained at St. Mary's, but in the spring removed to Charity Island in Lake Huron, and the whole Huron country was deserted.

The successful Iroquois the next year surprised one of the Dinondadie towns and the remnant of that nation dispersed, a part joining the fugitive Hurons on Charity Island. The Neuters were completely subdued in this campaign, and absorbed by the victorious Iroquois, who carried them off, leaving the whole of Upper Canada a desert.

In the following year they pursued the remnant of the Hurons and Dinondadies, who abandoned Charity Island, the former chiefly descending to Quebec, the latter retreating to Manitouline, where after surprising an Iroquois party, they were for a time unmolested.

In 1651, the Mohawks nearly annihilated the Attikamegues or Whitefish Indians above Three Rivers, and blockaded that French town, killing the governor, Duplessis Bochart, who attempted to raise the siege. In an attempt to take the town, however, the Mohawks lost their great war chief, Aontarisati, but they kept up the siege and menaced Montreal and Quebec; but at last proposed peace.

At the same time Onondagas came to Montreal, as the Eries were waging a harrassing war on the western cantons. Peace was accordingly made in May

1653. In pursuance of this peace a part of the Hurons on Isle Orleans removed to Onondaga, and the Jesuit missionaries began their labors in the Iroquois cantons. The menacing attitude of the Eries and Susquehannas induced them to invite a French colony, and Dupuis, in 1655, began a settlement at Onondaga which proved but of short duration. The Iroquois invaded the Erie territory with a large force led by Achiongeras, and after an obstinate fight took Gentaienton, a considerable town, slaughtering an immense number. A few subsequent campaigns caused the Erie name to disappear. The Onnontiogas, Ahondi, Atiragenratka, Gentauega, Atiaonrek and Takoulgue were also subdued about this time or shortly before. When the overthrow of these various tribes left them nought to fear, the Iroquois plotted the destruction of the French colony of St. Mary's at Onondaga, and the destruction of the missionaries who had begun to labor in the various tribes, and the French escaped only by stratagem in 1658.

In 1655 the Mohawks renewed their treaty with the Dutch, who were threatened by the River Indians; and now firm in this support, renewed the war with the French and carried it on with vigor till 1667. At the same time they attacked the Abnakis who refused tribute, the Illinois and Dinondadies in the West, and the Susquehannas in the South.

Stuyvesant in 1662 proceeded with the Governor of Nova Scotia, and New England deputies to Albany, to obtain redress for the outrages committed in Maine, but the Mohawks were obstinate.

One Onondaga chieftain, Garacontié, labored earnestly for peace and the civilization of his countrymen, and effected a general peace between the Western Cantons and the French in 1665. The Mohawks and Oneidas held aloof, continuing their war against the French and their allies. Tracy, the French Governor, erected three forts on the Sorel to check their incursions, and sent De Courcelle to ravage the Mohawk towns; he did not indeed succeed, but his inroad in 1666 gave great alarm, and Tracy himself led another army into the Mohawk country which took Caughnawaga, Oct. 17, 1666. This produced a general peace, the French missionaries resumed their labors, and by the powerful aid of Garacontié who became a Christian, gained many from heathenism to the ennobling doctrines of the Gospel. This mission begun by Fremin lasted till 1685, and its results still remain in the three villages of Catholic Iroquois in Canada.

On the capture of New York by the English, a new policy was adopted by government. Nicolls protested feebly in 1666 against the invasion by De Courcelles of British territory, but the Iroquois were still really their own masters making peace with the French, war with Philip, war with Maryland and Virginia, Shawnee and Susquehanna. The war with the last named tribe began in 1661 and ended in 1675, with the overthrow of the nation, who became incorporated with their conquerors, forming a clan apart.

The war of the Mohawks with the Mohegans began soon after the com-

mencement of the war between the western Cantons and the Susquehannas. On the 18th of August 1669, a Mohegan army attacked Caughnawaga, but it was relieved by the other towns, and the Mohawks pursued the Mohegans in their retreat. They subsequently attacked a Mohegan town, but were also repulsed : the government of New York then restored peace.

Meanwhile the missionaries, aided by Garacontie, were making considerable progress. His death, in 1675, was a severe blow to the missions. At this time, many of the Iroquois converts, and old Huron Christians in Iroquois towns, began to emigrate to Canada. Catharine Ganneaktena, an Erie, founded the village at Laprairie in 1668, which was soon visited by Garonhiague, or Hot Ashes, an Oneida chief, and Kryn, the Great Mohawk. Both settled there, the latter leading from Caughnawaga no less than fifty emigrants for conscience sake at one time. The village thus founded is now at Caughnawaga (C. E.) and St. Regis. A second grew up at the Mountain of Montreal, which is now at the Lake of the Two Mountains.

The Mohawks, after a battle with a portion of Philip's army, made a treaty with New England in 1677, and two years after with Maryland where roving braves had committed ravages.

France meanwhile was encircling the Iroquois territory. A fort rose at Cataracouy where Kingston now stands ; La Salle erected a block house at Niagara and a fort in Illinois. The energetic Dongan, Governor of New York, took alarm and resolved to drive the French north of the lakes. Under his impulse an army of 800 Iroquois marched in May 1683 against the Illinois, Miamis and Ottawas, the allies of France.

Their attack on Fort St. Louis led to a new war. De la Barre, the Governor of Canada, invaded New York with a large force, but after reaching Hungry Bay in 1684, patched up a sham peace, and made a precipitate retreat. The Iroquois had fearlessly awaited him, having just met in council the governors of New York and Virginia and New England deputies. After De la Barre's retreat, Dongan encouraged the Cantons to renew hostilities with the western French Indians, and made every effort to induce them to expel the missionaries. The treachery of Denonville, in seizing some Iroquois chiefs at Cataracouy in 1687 and sending them in chains to France, was however the finishing stroke. The Cantons expelled the missionaries and prepared for war with the French, as they were already at war with the Illinois, Miamis, Hurons and Ottawas.

Denonville, however, invaded the Seneca country with a large force of regulars, provincials, and Indians. The Senecas ambushed his path—a desperate fight ensued July 13, 1687, between them and the Indians in the French service, who finally, though with the loss of Ogeratarihen and Tageretouan, Iroquois chiefs, and Gonhiagui, the Dinondadie, forced the ambuscade. The Senecas then retreated and burned Gaensera, Totiakton and other towns, of all which the French took possession with all the forms of law. A fort was

erected at Niagara as a check on the Indians. Though instructions from England prevented Dongan from pursuing his plans, an Iroquois army beleaguered Fort Frontenac, and a flotilla of canoes attacked an armed French vessel on Lake Ontario. Negotiations however ensued and peace was made at Montreal, June 15, 1688. The Indian allies of the French opposed peace, Abnakis attacked Mohawks at the Sorel, and almost at the Mohawk castles, the Caughnawagas took the field, Kondiaronk, the Dinondadie, by duplicity induced the Iroquois to believe the French merely plotting their ruin.

Andros and Leisler both urged the Cantons to action. A large force set out and on the 25th of Aug., 1689, surprised the village of Lachine by night, butchering on the spot, or by slow torture, two hundred of the wretched inhabitants.

War now existed between England and France, and the work of Dongan in assuring the Iroquois to the English cause, was producing its effect. After destroying Lachine, Leisler planned the capture of Fort Frontenac with an Iroquois force. But the vigorous Frontenac had just returned to Canada bringing back the captive chiefs, and offering to negotiate.

On their refusal he imitated the example so fatally set by Leisler. Lachine justified the use of Indians in destroying the English frontier towns. In February, 1690, Schenectady fell as Lachine had done. A terrible border war ensued. French envoys were seized at Onondaga, the frontiers were ravaged by hostile parties, an English Mohawk band under Schuyler advancing to Laprairie; but the principal operation was the advance of a large force of New York and Connecticut militia, and 1,300 Indians against Montreal, to coöperate with Phipps. Sickness broke out however, and four hundred Iroquois died in the camp. The defeat of Phipps completed the failure of the project.

The next year Schuyler again led his Indians to the very gates of the French camp at Lachine and in a well fought battle on August 11, 1691, killed St. Cyrque, the French commander, but was utterly routed by Valrennes on his homeward march. This and the ravages of Black Kettle, a great Onondaga chief, induced Frontenac to invade the Mohawk country, and on the 16th of February, 1693, he surprised the three towns of the tribe. A Jesuit, Milet, formerly a missionary now a prisoner at Oneida, labored to obtain peace, Tegannisorens, Garakontié II and Ourewaré did the same.

A series of councils and negotiations ensued at Onondaga, Albany and Montreal, and New England, New Jersey, New York and Canada alike sought to control the action of the League. As the Western Cantons continued the war, Frontenac, in 1696, advanced to Onondaga, which the natives burnt; and wasting that canton and Oneida he returned without meeting an enemy. Heavy losses in the west coming close on this induced the Iroquois to ask for peace, which was soon followed by the general peace of Ryswick (1697).

In this war, the first waged by the Cantons as English subjects, the Iroquois paid dearly for the privilege; in nine years their fighting men dwindled down from 2,800 to 1,300. They accordingly renewed their treaties with the Eng-

lish, but made new treaties with the French, and when the English renewed war maintained their neutrality, as did the Catholic Iroquois in Canada. After much exertion, a force joined Nicholson's expedition, but again the braves of the League perished by disease. Schuyler who had urged the step, now took five chiefs to England, and induced them to join Nicholson's (1711) expedition, a failure like the rest.

By the peace of Utrecht in 1713, France abandoned all claim to the Iroquois.

The warriors of the League then struck at Southern tribes, the Conoys, Tuteloes, and their kindred Tuscaroras, but when these last were overthrown by the English, gave them a refuge and a place as a sixth nation, yet without sachems. The Choctaws and Catawabas were next exposed to their murderous war parties.

The League was however declining, vices began to sap their strength, disease and war had weakened them, no new nations could be brought in as vassals. The French had endeavored to christianize them, the Dutch and English had hitherto done little. But about the time when Miller wrote, the matter was seriously taken up. The labors of Dellius had been but partial. Lord Bellomont, the successor of Fletcher, made great efforts to establish missions, the Society for Propagating the Gospel joined, but no mission was really established till 1705, when Rev. Bernard Freeman took up his residence at Schenectady. His labors were continued by Barclay, Van Driessan, and others, and an Episcopal Church formed in this canton.

The increase of English population drove many, however, to Canada, and others to the banks of the Ohio, where the Senecas and Shawnees formed a town, and where the remnant of the Susquehannas appear, under the name of Mingoes. Unprincipled traders and land speculators had so oppressed them, that when war broke out with France, in 1744, the six nations absolutely refused to take up arms, and it was not till Colden had employed promises and caresses, and Johnson his rising influence, that they took the field, but as on previous occasions, when they joined English expeditions, lost fearfully by smallpox. Some raids were made by the Caughnawagas from Canada, and by the Cantons into that province, but the Six Nations met severe losses, and in 1747, again resolved on neutrality. They indeed lost all British feeling, and the colony of New York began to dread them, while nevertheless it refused them justice. The Moravians, next to the Jesuits the most successful with the red men, at this very juncture offered to found missions, but the government would not adopt any plan for the civilization and due management of the Indian tribes.

Availing himself of the discontent, Picquet, a French priest, in 1749, established a new Christian village at Oswegatchie, now Ogdensburgh, and soon drew numbers from the Cantons. When war broke out, in 1754, Johnson induced the Mohawks to join the expedition against Crown Point. In the

battle with Dieskau, they engaged their kindred Caughnawagas, losing Hendrick, their king or chief, and many of their bravest warriors. On this the Cantons again resumed their neutral ground, and did not again appear on the field, till 1759, when a thousand joined Johnson in the expedition against Niagara, and rendered essential service in the defeat of Aubry. A large body also attended Amherst the next year, but abandoned him after the fall of Fort Levi, as he checked their savage desires.

While the Cantons themselves had thus reluctantly acted in the war, the Canadian Iroquois of Sault St. Louis or Caughnawaga, the Lake of the Two Mountains and Oswegatchie were constantly in the field. All now passed under the British rule, and the Cantons saw how blindly they had acted. Their territory was now to be swept away by the increase of the British colonies. The Iroquois plotted the overthrow of the English, but Keashuta the Seneca lacked the requisites of a leader. When Pontiac divulged his scheme, Keashuta joined him. The Tuscaroras drove the traders from Fort Pitt and slaughtered them at Beaver Creek. The Senecas destroyed Fort Venango and every soul in it, then with the Delawares besieged Fort Pitt.

Sir William Johnson used constant effort to save the rest of the Cantons, and regain those in arms. In a council at Johnson Hall, in September, 1763, the eastern Cantons took up the hatchet against the Senecas and Tuscaroras. Yet at that very moment the Senecas were slaughtering the English train near Fort Schuyler. As Pontiac's power declined, Johnson's influence prevailed, and in April, 1764, the Six Nations made a treaty with him, which was confirmed in a national council at Niagara; Keashuta soon after submitted, and Pontiac's war closed by the treaty of Oswego in July 1766.

Two years after, the king or head chief of the Cherokees made at Onondaga a treaty of peace and friendship with the Six Nations.

In November, 1768, Johnson, in the treaty of Fort Stanwix, agreed with Tyorhansen of the Mohawks, Canaghagueson of the Oneidas, Seguaresera of the Tuscaroras, Otsinoghiyata of the Onondagas, Tegaca of the Cayugas and Guastrax of the Senecas, on a line beyond which the whites were not to encroach. This line started at the mouth of the Tennessee, ran along the Ohio to Kitanning, thence to the fork of the west branch of the Susquehanna, along that branch to Tiadaghton Creek, then to the east branch, following it to Owego, then to the Delaware, and finally to Wood Creek. All other lands were surrendered in consideration of the sum of £10,460 7s. 3d.

New England missionaries, especially Kirkland at Seneca, now attempted to convert the Cantons, and in 1770 the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel again attempted the work. The book of Common Prayer was reprinted. In Canada, Oswegatchie was abandoned and its people joined other villages, but the Tarbells, Groton boys, naturalized at Caughnawaga, finding themselves viewed with jealousy, had founded St. Regis in 1756.



In 1774, Cresap provoked the western Iroquois to war, and Logan, of the old Susquehanna tribe, retaliated with fearful vengeance, till his power was broken in the terrible and well fought battle of Point Pleasant.

When the American Colonists rose against the Home government, from whom the Cantons had received but favors, Johnson's dying effort was to bind the Cantons to the crown. All but the Oneidas, who were influenced by Kirkland, espoused the side of England during the revolution, and under Sir John Johnson and Colonel Guy Johnson, seconded by Brant, the real war chief of the Mohawks, proved a terrible scourge to the Americans. The Johnsons convened councils at Oswego—the Provisional government held a general congress at Albany, in August, 1775, the last in which the Cantons together treated with New York. But it failed to change the position they had taken. Strangely enough, the Americans succeeded better with the Canagawagas, who positively refused to aid the English, and who, when Carleton threatened to deprive them of their land, laconically answered: *We have arms*. They subsequently even offered to send a body of warriors to Washington, but the hero was averse to employing Indians in the war, although Mohawks were actually in the field at St. Johns and at the Cedars against the Americans.

In 1777, it was formally announced that the council fire at Onondaga was extinguished. Brant led the Indians to the siege of Fort Schuylers, and to the battle of Oriskany, where the Mohawks especially suffered. Those in Burgoyne's army proved, however, of little service.

In December, 1777, Congress addressed the Cantons, as a last appeal for neutrality, but in vain. Johnson and Brant from Niagara, were hounding on the warriors to ravage the frontiers. In February, 1778, Lafayette held a council at Johnstown. There were few Mohawks or Cayugas, no Senecas. A treaty was made with the Oneidas and Tuscaroras, and proffered to the Onondagas.

In June, Brant defeated Captain Patrick; in July he cut to pieces a body of 50 militia; and made Wyoming a scene of slaughter never to be forgotten. Col. Butler, to chastise this, destroyed Unadilla and Oghkwaga, but Brant took vengeance in the slaughter of Cherry Valley, and peremptorily ordered the Oneidas to join him. The Onondagas fluctuated till Van Schaick marched against them. Then they openly took sides with the English and joined in the predatory war.

To check this, General Sullivan and Clinton in August, 1779, entered their territory, and defeating Brant at the Chemung, wasted their whole district, destroying Chemung and many other towns. All was now desolation, misery and ruin amid the fugitives who crowded around Niagara. Brant was however unbroken; he retaliated by invading Oneida, destroying the castle, church and dwellings; and followed up the blow by ravaging Harpersfield, Schoharie and Canajoharie.

Sir John Johnson, with a force of Tories and Indians amounting to 1550 men, soon after advanced to Schoharie, and after defeating an American detachment under Col. Brown, engaged Van Rensselaer, but was defeated in 1780. The peace left the Iroquois completely at the mercy of the Americans. All but the Oneidas and Tuscaroras resolved to emigrate, and the British government assigned, first, Quinté Bay to the Mohawks, and in 1784 a district on Grand River to all the Cantons. The American government, by the treaty of Fort Stanwix, October 22, 1784, confirmed the Oneidas and Tuscaroras in their possessions, guaranteeing to the others the lands in their actual occupation, on their ceding to the General government all west of a line beginning on Lake Ontario at the mouth of Oyonwayea Creek; then south to the mouth of Buffalo Creek, and thence to the north line of Pennsylvania, which it followed west and south to the Ohio. Brant was greatly opposed to this, and endeavored to form a great Indian union against the Americans, but the Iroquois made a new treaty with St. Clair, in 1789, at Fort Harmar, and gradually settled down to a state of peace.

When the western Indians, following Brant's plan, began war in 1790, Pickering negotiated another treaty with all the Cantons except the Mohawk, which renewed in 1794, settled all questions in controversy. New York meanwhile, in 1785 and 1788, purchased the lands of the Oneidas, Tuscaroras, Onondagas and Cayugas, except a reservation for each.

The last council with Pickering, in November, 1794, was attended by some of the greatest men of the League, Honayawus or Farmer's Brother, and Cornplanter or Gyantiwoha, who had both fought under Beaujeu, and Sagoyewatha or Red Jacket, the most eloquent Indian of his day.

From this time the various Cantons have ceded most of their lands. The Cayugas began in 1795, and dispersed, some joining the Senecas, some going to Grand River, and others to the west. The condition of peace led to some improvement. Brant among the Mohawks employed his time in translating the book of Common Prayer and part of the Bible, and till his death in 1807, labored for the real good of his countrymen. The Quakers, as early as 1796, began their civilizing labors among the Oneidas, and soon after among the Senecas. The Oneidas, already converted in part to Christianity, were rapidly becoming a civilized people. Among the heathen portion, who had now forgotten their ancient deities and worshiped only Hawen-nio, the Lord God of the Christians, arose the prophet Ganeodiyo, who produced a great reformation, especially in regard to the use of intoxicating liquors.

In 1803, the Rev. E. Holmes, a Baptist clergyman began a mission among the Tuscaroras; and in 1805, the Rev. Mr. Cram of the Evangelical Missionary Society of Massachusetts attempted to found a mission among the Senecas, but was repulsed by Red Jacket.

Tecumseh drew some Senecas to his standard, and in the war of 1812 the Canada Iroquois were very actively engaged, and rendered great service to

the English cause. The American Indians at first sought neutrality, but took the field after a time, and the two sections of the League were thus carrying on the destruction of the nation. After the battle of Chippewa, both sides, however, laid down the hatchet.

Onondaga was deemed the centre and head of the League. Each tribe was divided into families, the Bear, Wolf, and Tortoise, with subordinate ones not uniform in all the tribes. Each of the families had certain hereditary sachemships. The sachems were the rulers of the nation. They succeeded in the female line, and the great sachem of Onondaga, the Atotarho or Sagochiendaguete, was the head of the League. No one could marry a person of the same family, even though of another tribe. The rules on this point were very minute. They adored originally, Aireskoi, or Tharonhiawagon, but learning the name Dieu, from the French, address God as Niio, which enters into the common form, Hawennii, God who art master. The worship of Aireskoi was by offerings of the flesh of animals, tobacco, and the like, and at times by human sacrifice. They honored also genii, or spirits, especially those of maize, pumpkins, and beans. Their worship had certain great feasts of the year, some, especially the Hononouarioia, marked by very strange rites.

They interred the dead temporarily, and about every tenth year, collected all the remains in one long grave, lined with furs, and containing kettles, arrows, and various articles. These are the bonepits occasionally met in excavations.

Prisoners were treated with great cruelty, forced to run the gauntlet, mutilated, and often burnt at the stake. The invention of this savage custom, and of scalping, was attributed by the Algonquins to the Iroquois. The dress of the men, was a mere breech cloth between the thighs, the ends hanging over a girdle, and that of the women, a short petticoat of furs, both wearing moccasins and leggins, and at times a mantle, and afterwards a blanket. Their houses were of bark, laid over a good frame like an arbor rounding on top. These houses were ranged in streets, and surrounded by a palisade, beyond which lay their fields.

Their numbers never, probably, since 1600, exceeded 15,000, if they ever reached that point, and are now about 9,000, which may safely be taken as their average population.

On the restoration of peace, the Rev. J. C. Crane founded, in 1817, a Seneca mission that still subsists, the tribe dividing into a Christian band, under Pollard, and a heathen band adhering to Red Jacket, who persisted in his hostility till his death in 1830, although his family had become Christians. The Methodists established and still continue a mission at Oneida.

In 1826 and 1839, the Senecas, or rather a few drunkards in their name, sold to the Ogden company all but the Tonawanda reservation, and the tribe lost 200,000 acres. This led to emigration. In 1840, 430 Oneidas and

500 Senecas removed to *Grand River*. Others at an earlier date, settled at Sandusky, and were subsequently removed by the General government, west of the Mississippi. In 1820, the Oneidas purchased a tract on Green Bay, and a party removed thither. Among these *Eleazer Williams*, subsequently the *soi distant* Louis XVII, labored as an Episcopal missionary.

A party of Senecas, Tuscaroras and Cayugas, about 1846, set out for the lands west of Missouri, were imposed upon, and nearly all perished. The survivors returned heart-broken to New York.

In 1849, the Senecas abandoned the old Sachem system and adopted a constitution with elective chiefs, and both sexes adopted more closely the dress of the whites. At the same time, the state authorized each tribe to divide the land held in common among the individuals or families. Provision was also made for schools and for the education of Indian teachers at the State Normal School.

The Catholic villages in Lower Canada have had an uneventful history. Caughnawaga, Aquasasne or St. Regis and Canasadaga or the Lake of the Two Mountains, are quiet villages, where the Indians live much like the whites around them, more indolent, but possessing churches, schools and council halls.

*Note 30, page 68.*

ARNOUT CORNELISSON VIELE, the Government interpreter, figures frequently in accounts of this time. He was taken prisoner in 1687, by Denonville, on his expedition against the Senecas, and came on bearing a letter to Gov. Dongan. Having sided with Leisler he lost his office under Fletcher, but was restored by Bellomont and rendered good service.

*Note 31, page 69.*

MR. MILLER's advice may seem strange, but its wisdom seems to have been admitted. The Bible has never been translated into any of the Iroquois dialects. In the commencement of the last century, the Rev. Mr. Freeman translated St. Matthew, a part of Genesis and Exodus, and a few Psalms. This was never printed; but in the *Mohawk Book of Common Prayer*, printed in New York, in 1715, Genesis I, II, III; Matthew, I (in part), II, V, and Psalms, I, XV, XXXII, appeared. The same parts of Genesis were reprinted with the prayer book at New York, in 1769. Not possessing a copy of the prayer book printed at Quebec in 1780, I can not say whether it contained any part of the Bible. St. Mark translated by Brant was printed with the Common Prayer, London, 1787, and reprinted at New York in 1829; St. John was printed at New York in 1818; St. Matthew in 1831; St. Luke in 1833; Acts and Romans and Galatians in 1835, and Isaiah in 1839.

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In the other dialects no part of the Bible has been printed except St. Luke which appeared in Seneca in 1829.

Thus not only no Bible, but not even a Testament has ever been printed in any of the languages of the Five Nations, the rulers of central New York, although the Bible societies of New York have printed both in tongues of far distant nations. See Dr. O'Callaghan's *Catalogue of American Bibles*, pp. 26, 146, 201, 214, 228, 244-5, 263, and his History of the Translation of the Book of Common Prayer into the Mohawk Language, in the *Historical Magazine*, I, 14.

END.

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A  
TWO YEARS JOURNAL  
IN  
NEW YORK,  
AND PART OF ITS  
TERRITORIES IN AMERICA.

BY CHARLES WOOLEY, A. M.

A NEW EDITION WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND COPIOUS HISTORICAL NOTES

BY E. B. O'CALLAGHAN, M. D.,

CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

*Fir'd at the sound, my genius spreads her wing,  
And flies where Britain courts the Western spring;  
Where laws extend that scorn Arcadian pride,  
And brighter streams than fam'd Hydaspis glide.  
There all around the gentlest breezes stroy,  
There gentle music melts on ev'ry spray;  
Creation's mildest charms are there combin'd;  
Extremes are only in the master's mind!—Goldsmith.*

For the Lord thy God bringeth thee into a good land, a land of brooke of water, of fountaine, and depths that spring out of valleys and hills; a land of wheat and barley, and vines, and fig-trees, and pomegranates; a land of oil-olive, and honey; a land wherein thou shalt eat bread without scarceness, thou shalt not lack any thing in it; a land whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass. When thou hast eaten and art full, then thou shalt bless the Lord thy God for the good land which he hath given thee. . . . . *Deuteronomy 8: 7, 8.*



NEW YORK:  
WILLIAM GOWANS.  
—  
1860.

279 NEW YORK: Wooley (Charles) A Two Years Journal in New York and Part of Its Territories in America. A new edition with introduction and copious historical notes by E. B. O'Callaghan, M. D. New York, 1860. 8vo, pp. 97, cloth, large paper copy. \$7.50

\*Number 2 of Gowan's Bibliotheca Americana.

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TO  
THE MEMORY  
OF  
DE WITT CLINTON.



## ADVERTISEMENT.

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W. GOWANS, *Publisher.*



## INTRODUCTION.

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THE prevalent desire for authentic information on the early history of our country, encourages the publisher to endeavor to gratify such taste, by reprinting this curious and rare little Book, only three copies of which are, as far as he is informed, in these States. Though small, it throws light on the domestic manners and social habits of the people of the city of New York, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, not to be derived from larger and purely historical works.

Being curious to know the antecedents of its author, and having learned incidentally that he was a graduate of Cambridge, I addressed the authorities of that University and received, in answer, the following polite note, for which I beg to return my very sincere acknowledgments.

“TRINITY COLL. CAMBRIDGE. }  
“13 Oct. 1859. }

“Dear Sir :

“The vice chancellor this day put into my hands your letter of the 24 Sept.

“I am sorry to say I can give no information as to the parentage of Charles Wolley. I have called upon the master of Emmanuel College and inspected the admission book in his custody. The information is very slight, it is as follows :

“ ‘Ch. Wolley of Linc. admitted sizar 13 June, 1670.’

“ The admission does not state whether he was born in the city of Lincoln or merely in the county: it does not mention Ch. W.’s father’s name, or his place of education.

“ The matriculation and degree books are in my custody :

*Charles Wolley*

Handwriting of B. A. degree.

“ Charles Wolley was matriculated a sizar of Emm. Coll. on the 9 July, 1670.

*Charles Wolley*

Handwriting in M. A. degree.

“ He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in January, 1673-4, and his degree of Master of Arts in July, 1677.

“ I send you tracings of his signature at both his degrees.

“ Yours truly,

“ JOSEPH ROMILLY

“ E. B. O’Callaghan, Esq. (Registrary of the Univ<sup>ty</sup>).”

The year after he graduated Mr. WOLLEY came to New York. At the period referred to in his Journal, the province is described as “poore, unsettled and almost without trade;” the city was, “small in size and scanty in population; its buildings mostly wood; some few of stone and brick; 10 or 15 ships, of about 100 tons burthen each, frequented the port in a year; four of these being New York built.” The annual imports were valued at £50,000, or \$250,000; a trader worth \$2500 to \$5000 was “accompted a good substantial merchant; a planter whose moveables were valued at half that sum was esteemed rich. Ministers were scarce and Religions many.”\* The Church of England; the Reformed Dutch church; French Calvinists; Lutherans;

\* N. Y. Col. Doc. iii., 261.

Roman Catholics ; Quakers, both "singing and ranting ;" Sabatarians and Anti-sabatarians ; Anabaptists ; Independents and Jews, all were represented. In short some of all sorts of opinions, and some of none at all, helped in those, as in these, days to compose the heterogeneous population of the metropolis.

Fort James was "seated upon a point of the towne, on a plot of ground containing about two acres, between Hudson River and y<sup>e</sup> Sound ; it was a square with stone walls, four bastions almost regular, and in it 46 gunns mounted, and stores for service accordingly." \* The "great house" had been covered with Dutch tiles ; but these were removed and the roof covered with shingles, "by reason the Tyles were usually broken when the gunns were fired." An hospital, or officers' quarters, stood in the vicinity, between Stone and Bridge streets.

The garrison of the Fort consisted of

1 Captain (gov. Andros,) whose pay was 8s. stg. per day.

2 Lieuts. { Anthy Brockholes }  
              { Christopher Bellop } pay 4s. per day.

1 Ensign (Cæsar Knapton) pay 3s.

3 Sergeants @ 1s. 6 a day ; 4 Corporals and 2 drummers @ 1s. a day ; 100 privates @ 8d. per day ; 1 master gunner @ 2s. ; 4 matrosses @ 1s. ; 1 Chirurgeon @ 2s. ; 1 Store-keeper @ 2s. and "A Chaplaine" @ 6s. per day.

The "Chaplaine" here referred to was the Rev. CHARLES WOLLEY ; his salary amounted to £121. 6s. 8d sterling, or about \$600 a year. †

From his Journal we are led to conclude that he was a gentleman of learning and observation ; social of habit and charitable in feeling. On his departure from this

\* N. Y. Col. Doc. iii., 260. † Ibid, 220.

country, Sir Edmund Andros bore testimony to his proper deportment whilst here, in the following words :

“ A Certificate to Mr. Charles Wolley to goe for England in the Hopewell.

“ S<sup>r</sup> Edmund Andros Kn<sup>t</sup> &c. Whereas Mr. Charles Wolley (a Minister of the church of England) came over into these parts in the Month of August 1678 and hath officiated accordingly as Chaplaine under his Royall Highnesse during the time of his abode here, Now upon Application for leave to returne for England in order to some promotion in the church to which hee is presented, hee having liberty to proceede on his voyage. These are to certify the above and that the s<sup>d</sup> Mr. Wolley hath in his place comported himself unblameable in his Life and conversacōn. In Testimony whereof I have hereunto sett my hand and Seale of the province in New York this 15<sup>th</sup> day of July in the 32<sup>th</sup> year of his Matyes Raigne. Annoq Dominj 1680.

“ Examined by mee M. N. Secr.” \*

Mr. WOLLEY returned to England in a ship commanded by George Heathcote, a Quaker, some particulars of whom will be found in Note 47, at the end of this volume. He took with him as curiosities, “ a Grey squirrel, a Parrot, and a Raccoon,” and if any desire be felt respecting the subsequent fortunes of these favorites, we are pleased to be able to say, that the same will be found fully satisfied on referring to the pages of the Journal.

We next find our author at Alford in Lincolnshire. Hoping to learn something further of his history, I wrote to the Rector of that church, who in return was so obliging as to take a great deal of trouble to obtain the requisite informa-

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\* N. Y. Gen. Entries, xxxii : 93.



tion, and communicated the result in the following letter :

“ ALFORD VICARAGE  
“ Lincolnshire,  
“ September 17, 1859. } ”

“ Dear Sir :

“ It would have given me great pleasure could I have assisted you in your enquiries respecting the Rev. CHARLES WOILEY, but I am afraid I shall not be able to do so. As our registers at Alford begin within five years of the oldest in England I thought until your enquiry came to me that this parish might hold its head high in such lore. But upon searching them I found a great gap including the whole time you are enquiring about and extending from 1657 to 1732. I immediately wrote off to an American gentleman (one of the Hutchinson family) who searched them last year ; and this morning his answer arrived but threw no light upon the missing portion. In the mean time I enquired of the old people who might be supposed familiar with traditionary names but met with no success.

“ One more source is open to me, the old parochial (not ecclesiastical) books which I will examine before I close this. If this fails me I see not in what way I can be of service.

“ I am Dear Sir

“ Yours very truly,

“ GEORGE JEANS.

“ E. B. O'Callaghan, Esq<sup>r</sup>.

“ P. S. Sept. 21. The parish books begin in 1701, but there is no mention of the name. There is just a possibility it may occur in the records of the Governors of the Grammar School, which I will examine.

“ Sept. 29. I regret to say I have examined the ar-

chives of the Governors of the Grammar School and cannot find the name through all the years you gave me.  
G. J."

Still unwilling to abandon my search until all probable sources of information had been exhausted, I applied to the Lord Bishop of Lincoln, to whose diocese, it appeared by the admission book of Emmanuel College, Mr. WOLLEY belonged, requesting that I might be furnished by his Lordship's orders, with transcripts of any data the records of the diocese might supply on the subject of my enquiry. The following is an extract from the answer to that application:

"THE PALACE, Lincoln, {  
"Jan'y 19, 1860. }

"Dear Sir:

"I have had the Books and Records of this Registry searched, but I have been unable to find even the Name of the Rev. Chas. Wolley, in this Diocese, and am strongly inclined to think that he never held a Benefice in it, otherwise the Register Books would shew it. From your observation, that he was removed "for his unprofitableness," I feel quite sure it was not any Benefice; no beneficed Clergyman could be removed from his Benefice on any such ground, nor a Curate either, if he objected and had not committed any crime. \* \* \* \* \*

Of course you will understand that we have found no Record of his Ordination either, and therefore concluded it is a mistake altogether. He might be employed temporarily as a Curate at Alford, without being licensed, and then no record of it would be made. \* \* \* \* \*

"I am Dear Sir

"Yours faithfully,

"WILLIAM MOSS."

"E. B. O'Callaghan, Esq<sup>r</sup>."

The close of Mr. WOLLEY's career is thus shrouded in obscurity. His ministry appears by his own acknowledgment, not to have abounded in fruit; for, apologizing both for publishing, and for having delayed the publication of, his Journal, he says, that he was "taken off, from the proper studies and offices of his Function, for his unprofitableness;" and therefore concluded, when he could not do "what he ought," to do "what he could," and accordingly published this Journal.

It is evident, from various passages in these Reminiscences, that his sojourn in this country left a pleasing impression on Mr. WOLLEY's mind. "New York," he says, "is a place of as sweet and agreeable air as ever I breathed in, and the inhabitants, both English and Dutch, very civil and courteous, as I may speak by experience, amongst whom I have often wished myself and my family."

I have endeavored to ascertain whether he carried out this wish and returned to this country. The name is found in our archives, posterior to the original publication of this Journal;\* and Mr. Valentine states that a Charles Wooley was admitted a freeman of New York in 1702.† Whether or not, this was the former Chaplain of Fort James and Sojourner at Alford, I must leave to others to determine.

With a view to throw additional light on some passages of the Text, and further to illustrate the Men and Manners of Days which have long passed away, and all trace whereof is buried in ancient MSS. and dust-covered Tomes, Notes, historical and biographical, have been added to the Journal. In the preparation of these, every care has been taken to consult the best authorities within reach, and to

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\* N. Y. Doc. Hist., i., 622; N. Y. Col. Doc., iv: 934.

† Valentine's Hist. of the City of New York, 377.

state the authority consulted, in order that every one may have the means of reëxamining the points selected for illustration, if he feel so inclined. It is to be hoped that the pains and labor thus bestowed, will prove of profit to others and merit general approbation.

A two Years  
JOURNAL  
IN  
New-York:  
And part of its  
TERRITORIES  
IN  
AMERICA.

---

By C. W. A. M.

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LONDON,

Printed for *John Wyat*, at the *Rose* in *St. Paul's Church-Yard*: and *Eben Tracy*, at the three *Bibles* on *London-Bridge*. MDCCI.



## TO THE READER.

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*The materials of this Journal have laid by me several years expecting that some Landlooper or other in those parts would have done it more methodically, but neither hearing nor reading of any such as yet, and I being taken off from the proper Studies and Offices of my Function, for my unprofitableness, I concluded, that when I could not do what I ought, I ought to do what I could, which I shall further endeavour in a second Part: in the mean while, adieu.*





A  
TWO YEARS JOURNAL  
IN  
NEW YORK, & C.

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In the year 1678, May the 27, we set sail from old England for New-York in America, in the Merchants Ship called the Blossom, Richard Martain of New-England Master. (See Note 1.) We had on board Sir Edmund Andros, (see Note 2,) Governor of New-York, Merchants and Factors, Mr. William Pinhorne, (see Note 3,) Mr. James Graham, (see Note 4,) Mr. John White, Mr. John West (see Note 5,) and others ; the 7th of August following we arriv'd safe at New-York.

The City of New-York, by Dr. Heylin (see Note 6,) and other Cosmographers, is call'd New-Amsterdam, and the Country New-Netherlands, being first inhabited by a Colony of Dutch ; but as first discover'd by the English it was claim'd to the Crown of England by Colonel Nichols, in the year 1665, (see Note 7,) then sent over Governor ; to whom it was surrendred by the Dutch upon Articles ; it being a fundamental Point consented unto by all Nations, That the first discovery of a Country inhabited by Infidels, gives a right and Dominion of that Country to the Prince in whose Service and Employment the discoverers

were sent; thus the Spaniard claims the West-Indies; the Portugals Brasile; and thus the English those Northern parts of America; (see Note 8,) for Sebastian Cabot (see Note 9,) employed by K. Hen. 7th, was the first discoverer of those parts, and in his name took Possession, which his Royal Successors have held and continu'd ever since: Therefore they are of the Crown of England, and as such they are accounted by that excellent Lawyer Sir John Vaughan: (see Note 10,) So this particular Province being granted to his then Royal-Highness the D. of York, by Letters Patents from King Charles the II. was from his title and Propriety call'd New-York.

The Fort and Garrison of this place lieth in the degree of 40th and 20 minutes of northern Latitude, (see Note 11,) as was observ'd and taken by Mr. Andrew Norwood, Son of the Famous Mathematician of that name, (see Note 12,) and by Mr. Philip Wells, (see Note 13,) and Van Cortland Junior, Robert Rider and Jacobus Stephens, the seventh of July 1679, with whom I was well acquainted, and at that time present with them.

### *The Temperature of the Climate.*

By the Latitude above observ'd, New-York lieth 10 Degrees more to the Southward than Old England; by which difference according to Philosophy it should be the hotter Climate, but on the contrary, to speak feelingly, I found it in the Winter Season rather colder for the most part: the reason of which may be the same with that which

Sir Henry Wotton (see Note 14,) gives for the coldness of Venice, as he observ'd from the experience of fourteen years Embassie, viz. Though Venice be seated in the very middle point, between the Equinoctial and the northern Pole, at 45 degrees precisely, or thereabouts, of Latitude, yet their winters are for the most part sharper than ours in England, though about six degrees less of Elevation, which he imputed to its vicinity or nigh Situation to the chilly tops of the Alps, for Winds as well as Waters are tainted and infected in their passage. New-York in like manner is adjacent to and almost encompass'd with an hilly, woody Country, full of Lakes and great Vallies, which receptacles are the Nurseries, Forges and Bellows of the Air, which they first suck in and contract, then discharge and ventilate with a fiercer dilatation. The huge lake of Canada, which lies to the northward of New-York, is supposed to be the most probable place for dispersing the cold Northwest-winds which alter the nature of this Climate, insomuch that a thick winter Coat there is commonly called a Northwestern: So that the Consequence which Men make in common discourse from the Degree of a place to the temper of it, is indeed very deceivable, without a due regard to other circumstances; for as I have read in the Philosophical Transactions, the order of the seasons of the year is quite inverted under the torrid Zone, for whereas it should be then Summer when the Sun is near, and Winter when the Sun is farther of; under the

torrid Zone it's never less hot than when the Sun is nearest; nor more hot than when the Sun is farthest off; so that to the people who live between the Equinoctial and the Tropicks, Summer begins about Christmas, and their Winter about St. John's day, the reason whereof is that when the Sun is directly over their heads, it raises abundance of Vapours, and draws them so high that they are presently converted into water by the coldness of the Air; whence it comes to pass that then it rains continually, which does repress the Air; but when the Sun is farther off there falls no more Rain, and so the heat becomes insupportable; but besides these Observations and Philosophical Solutions, give me leave to offer one Consideration to the Inhabitants of the Northern parts of England, viz. Whether they have not taken notice for the several years past of some alteration in the Seasons of the year; that the Winters have been earlier, colder and longer, and the Summers shorter than formerly within their own memories; for which I think I may appeal to the Gardeners. Especially as to the fruit of the Vine, no Grapes having come to their maturity or perfection in the same Gardens they used to do: Now to what reasons shall we impute these, shall we say in the words of that Scribe of the Law, Esdras, The world hath lost his youth, and the times begin to wax old, for look how much the world shall be weaker through age? Or shall we apologize with Dr. Hakewell, (see Note 15,) in his Power and Providence in the Government of the World? For my part I humbly submit to the

Virtuoso's of Natural and Divine Philosophy ; rather than embarrass and envelop my self in prying within the Curtains of the Primitive Chaos, or the Womb of the Creation, or the dark Orb of Futurities.

*Of the Air.*

It's a Climate of a Sweet and wholesome breath, free from those annoyances which are commonly ascribed by Naturalists for the insalubrity of any Country, viz. South or South-east Winds, many stagnant Waters, lowness of shoars, inconstancy of Weather, and the excessive heat of the Summer; the extremity of which is gently refresh'd, fann'd and allay'd by constant breezes from the Sea; it does not welcome its Guests and Strangers with the seasoning distempers of Fevers and Fluxes, like Virginia, Maryland, and other Plantations, nature kindly drains and purgeth it by Fontanels and Issues of running waters in its irriguous Valleys, and shelters it with the umbrella's of all sorts of Trees from pernicious Lakes; which Trees and Plants do undoubtedly, tho' insensibly suck in and digest into their own growth and composition, those subterraneous Particles and Exhalations, which otherwise wou'd be attracted by the heat of the Sun and so become matter for infectious Clouds and malign Atmospheres, and tho we cannot rely upon these causes as permanent and continuing, for the longer and the more any Country is peopled, the more unhealthful it may prove, by

reason of Jaques, Dunghills and other excrementitious stagnations, which offend and annoy the bodies of Men, by incorporating with, and infecting the circumambient Air, but these inconveniences can scarce be suppos'd to happen within our age, for the very settling and inhabiting a new Country, which is commonly done by destroying its Wood, and that by Fire (as in those parts I describe) does help to purifie and refine the Air; an experiment and remedy formerly us'd in Greece and other Nations, in the time of Plague or any common infection. To conclude this Chapter, I my self, a person seemingly of a weakly Stamen and a valetudinary Constitution, was not in the least indispos'd in that Climate, during my residence there, the space of three years: This account and description of the place, I recommend as a fair encouragement, to all who are inclined to Travel; to which I shall subjoin other inviting Advantages and Curiosities in their proper places.

*Of the Inhabitants. And first of the Indians or Natives.*

There are a clan of highflown Religionists, who stile the Indians the Populus Terræ, and look upon them as a reprobate despicable sort of creatures: But making the allowances for their invincible ignorance, as to a reveal'd Education, I should rather call them the Terræ filii: For otherwise I see no difference betwixt them and the rest of the Noble Animals. They are stately and well proportioned in Symmetry through the whole Oeco-

nomny of their bodies, so that I cannot say I observed any natural deformity in any of them; which probably may be owing to their way of nurturing their new born Infants: which is thus, as soon as a Woman is delivered, she retires into the Wood for a burden or bundle of sticks, which she takes upon her back to strengthen her; the Children they Swaddle upon a Board, which they hang about their heads, and so carry them for a year together, or till they can go, this I had confirm'd to me, by my friend Mr. William Asfordby, (see Note 16,) who lived in those parts sixteen years, and had for his Neighbour one Harman the Indian in Marble-Town, in the County of Ulster, formerly called Sopus, (see Note 17,) in the Province of New-York, whose Squaw or Wife us'd this way to her self and Children: In nursing their Children, the Mother abhors that unnatural and Costly Pride of suckling them with other Breasts, whilst her own are sufficient for that affectionate service; their hardiness and facility in bringing forth is generally such as neither requires the nice attendance of Nursekeepers, nor the art of a dextrous Lucina, being more like the Hebrew Women than the native Ægyptians, delivered before the Midwife can come to them; like that Irish Woman of whom Dr. Harvy (see Note 18,) de generatione Animalium, Cap. de partu, Page 276, reports from the mouth of the Lord Carew, Earl of Totness and Lord President of Munster, (see Note 19,) who though big with Child accompanied her Husband in the Camp, marching from place to

place, but by reason of a sudden flood which hindered their Armies march for one hour, the Woman's pains coming upon her, she withdrew her-self to a thicket of Shrubs, and there alone brought forth Twins, both which she brought down to the River and wash'd both herself and them, wrapping them up in a course and Irish Mantle, marches with them at her back, the same day barefoot and barelegged twelve Miles, without any prejudice to herself or them. The next day after, the Lord Deputy Montjoy, (see Note 20,) who at that time commanded the Army against the Spaniard, who had besieged Kinsale, with the Lord Carew, stood God-fathers for the Children ; but I cannot say of them as it is related of the Queen of Navarre, Mother to Henry of France, called the Great, who sung a French Song in the time of his Birth, seeming to show other Women, that it is possible to be brought to bed without crying out.

As to their Stature, most of them are between five or six foot high, straight bodied, strongly composed, in complexion perfect Adamites ; of a clayish colour, the Hair of their Heads generally black, lank and long, hanging down. And I have been several times amongst them, and could never observe any one shap'd either in redundance or defect, deformed or mishapen. They preserve their Skins smooth by anointing them with the Oyl of Fishes, the fat of Eagles, and the grease of Rackoons, which they hold in the Summer the best Antidote to keep their skins from blistering by the scorching Sun, their best Armour against



the Musketto's; the surest expeller of the hairy Excrement, and stopper of the Pores of their Bodies against the Winter's cold, their Hair being naturally black, they make it more so, by oyling, dying and dayly dressing, yet though they be very curious about the Hair of their Heads, yet they will not endure any upon their Chins, where it no sooner grows but they take it out by the Roots, counting it a spurious and opprobrious excrement: Insomuch, that the Aberginians (see Note 21,) or Northern Indians in New-England, call him an English-man's Bastard, that hath but the appearance of a Beard; so that I leave it to the other Sex:

*Judicat ex mento non mente puella maritum.*

### *Of their Apparel.*

Notwithstanding the heat of parching Summers, and the searching cold of piercing Winters, and the tempestuous dashings of driving Rains, their ordinary habit is a pair of Indian Breeches, like Adam's Apron to cover that which modesty commands to be hid, which is a piece of Cloth about a yard and a half long, put between their groins, tied with a Snake's Skin about their middle, and hanging down with a flap before, many of them wear skins about them in fashion of an Irish Mantle and of these some be Bears Skins and Rackoon Skins sewed or skuered together; but of late years, since they trade with the English and Dutch, they wear a sort of Blanket, which our

Merchants call Duffles, which is their Coat by day and covering by night, I have heard of some reasons given why they will not conform to our English Apparel, viz. because their Women cannot wash them when they are soiled, and their means will not reach to buy new, when they have done with their old, therefore they had rather go as they do, than be lowsie and make their bodies more tender by a new acquired habit, but they might be easily divested of these reasons, if they were brought to live in Houses and fix'd Habitations, as I shall shew hereafter. Though in their habit they seem to be careless and indifferent, yet they have an instinct of natural Pride, which appears in their circumstantial Ornaments, many of them wearing Pendants at their Ears, and Porcupine-quills through their Noses, impressing upon several parts of their bodies Portraits of Beasts and Birds, so that were I to draw their Effigies it should be after the pattern of the Ancient Britains, called Picts from painting, and Britains from a word of their own Language, Breeth, Painting or Staining, as Isidore writes, with whom Mr. Camden (see Note 22,) concurs; though Dr. Skinner (see Note 23,) in his Etymologicon Onomasticon, a Bri. honor & Tain fluvius, Insula fluvii nobilis: But to leave these Authors in their own critical ingenuity, I shall conclude this Chapter with a general Sentiment of such Customs that by these variety of Pictures depourtraicted in their Bodies; they are either ambitious to illustrate and set off their natural Symmetry, or to blazon their

Heraldy, which a certain Author calls Macculoso Nobilitas: Or else to render them terrible and formidable to all Strangers: or if we may conjecture out of that Rabbinical Critick the Oxford Gregory upon Cain's Thau, that according to the natural Magicians and Cabbalists, Adam and the rest of mankind in his right, had marks imprinted upon them by the finger of God, which marks were, pachad and chesed; the first to keep the Beasts in awe of Men; the latter to keep Men in love one with another. Whether there be any remains of a traditional imitation in the Indian World or not, I leave that and other conjectures to the Readers diversion.

*Of their Traffick, Money, and Diet.*

They live principally by Hunting, Fishing and Fowling. Before the Christians especially the Dutch came amongst them they were very dexterous Artists at their Bows, insomuch I have heard it affirm'd that a Boy of seven years old would shoot a Bird flying: and since they have learn'd the use of Guns, they prove better marksmen than others, and more dangerous too (as appear'd in the Indian War with New-England.) The Skins of all their Beasts, as Bears, Bevers, Rackoons, Foxes, Otters; Musquashes, Skunks, Deer and Wolves, they bring upon their backs to New-York, and other places of Trade, which they barter and exchange for Duffles or Guns, but too often for Rum, Brandy and other strong Liquors,

of which they are so intemperate lovers, that after they have once tasted, they will never forbear, till they are inflamed and enraged, even to that degree, that I have seen Men and their Wives Billingsgate it, through the Streets of New-York, as if they were metamorphosed into the nature of those beasts whose Skins they bartered: It were seriously to be wished that the Christians would be more sparing in the sale of that Liquor, which works such dismal effects upon those who are for gratifying their sensual Appetites: Being unacquainted with the comforts of Christian Temperance, and the elevated Doctrine of Self-denial and Mortification. They had better take to their primitive Beverage of water, which some Vertuoso's tell us breed no Worms in the Belly nor Maggots in the Brain.

Their Money is called Wampam and Sea-want, made of a kind of Cockle or Periwinkle-shell, of which there is scarce any, but at Oyster-Bay. They take the black out of the middle of the shell which they value as their Gold; they make their White Wampam or Silver of a kind of a Horn, which is beyond Oyster-bay: The meat within this horny fish is very good. They fashion both sorts like beads, and String them into several lengths, but the most usual measure is a Fathom; for when they make any considerable bargain, they usually say so many Fathom; So many black or so many white Wampams make a farthing, a penny, and so on: which Wampam or Indian Money we valued above the Spanish or English

Silver in any Payments, because of trading with the Indians in their own Coin. (See Note 24.) The price of Indian Commodities as sold by the Christian Merchants is as followeth.

	s.	d.
Bever	—00—10—3	a Pound.
The Lapps	—00—07—6	
Minks	—00—05—0	
Grey Foxes	—00—03—0	
Otters	—00—08—0	
Rackoons	—00—01—5	

Bever is fifteen pence a Skin Custom at New-York, four pence at London; three pence a Skin Freight, which is after the rate of fifteen Pound a Tun.

The value of other Skins, a Deer Skin 00—00—6 a p. A good Bear Skin will give 00—07—0. A black Bever-skin is worth a Bever and a half of another colour. A black Otter's-skin, if very good, is worth Twenty Shillings. A Fisher's-skin three shillings. A Cat's-skin half a Crown. A Wolf's-skin three shillings. A Musquash or a Muskrat's-skin six shillings and ten pence. An Oxe-hide three pence a pound wet and six pence dry. Rum in Barbados ten pence a Gallon. Molossus three pence a pound, and fifty shillings a barrel in winter, that being the dearest season. Sugar in Barbados twelve shillings the hundred which contains a hundred and twelve pounds; which at New-York yields thirty shillings the bare hundred. In Barbados (new Negro's i. e. such as cannot speak English) are bought for twelve or fourteen pound

a head, but if they can speak English sixteen or seventeen pound ; and at New-York, if they are grown Men, they give thirty five and thirty or forty Pound a head ; (see Note 25,) where by the by let me observe that the Indians look upon these Negroes or Blacks as an anomalous Issue, meer Edomites, hewers of Wood and drawers of Water.

The Price of Provisions: Long-Island Wheat three shillings a Skipple (a Skipple being three parts of a Bushel) Sopus Wheat half a Crown a Skipple, Sopus Pease half a Crown a Skipple ; Indian Corn Flower fifteen shillings a hundred, Bread 18 a hundred. To Barbados 50s. a Tun freight, 4 Hogsheads to a Tun ; Pork 3l. the barrel, which contains two hundred and 40 pounds, i. e. 3d. the pound ; Beef 30s. the barrel ; Butter 6d. a Pound: amongst Provisions I may reckon Tobacco, of which they are obstinate and incessant Smoakers, both Indians and Dutch, especially the latter, whose Diet especially of the boorish sort, being Sallets and Bacon, and very often picked buttermilk, require the use of that herb to keep their phlegm from coagulating and curdling. I once saw a pretty instance relating to the power of Tobacco, in two Dutchmen riding a race with short campaigne Pipes in their mouths, one of which being hurl'd from his Steed, as soon as he gathered himself up again, whip'd to his Pipe, and fell a sucking and drawing, regarding neither his Horse nor Fall, as if the prize consisted in getting that heat which came from his beloved smoke :

They never burn their Pipes, but as soon as they are out put them into their Pockets, and now and then wash them. The Indians originally made Pipes of Flint, and have some Pipes of Steel; they take the leaves of Tobacco and rub them betwixt their hands, and so smoke it; Tobacco is two pence halfpenny a pound, a merchantable Hogshead contains four hundred pound neat, i. e. without the Cask. A Dutch pound contains eighteen ounces. Pipe staves are fifty shillings or three pound a thousand, they are sent from New-York to the Madera Islands and Barbados, the best is made of White Oak. Their best Liquors are Fiall, Passado, and Madera Wines, the former are sweetish, the latter a palish Claret, very spritely and generous, two shillings a Bottle; their best Ale is made of Wheat Malt, brought from Sopus and Albany about threescore Miles from New-York by water; Syder twelve shillings the barrel; their quaffing liquors are Rum-Punch and Brandy-punch, not compounded and adulterated as in England, but pure water and pure Nants.

### *The Indians Diet.*

What they liv'd upon originally is hard to determine, unless we recur to St. John Baptist's extemporary Diet in the Wilderness, for they may be properly called *ἰσθόβιοι*, i. e. Inhabitants of the Wood, so may be supposed to have had their *victus parabilis*, food that wanted no dressing; but stories of the first times being meerly conjectural,

I shall only speak what I wrote down from the best information. They have a tradition that their Corn was at first dropt out of the mouth of a Crow from the Skies; just as Adam de Marisco (see Note 26,) was wont to call the Law of Nature Helias's Crow, something flying from Heaven with Provisions for our needs. They dig their ground with a Flint, called in their Language tom-a-hea-kan, (see Note 27,) and so put five or six grains into a hole the latter end of April or beginning of May, their Harvest is in October, their Corn grows like clusters of Grapes, which they pluck or break off with their hands, and lay it up to dry in a thin place, like unto our Cribs made of reed; when its well dried they parch it, as we sprekle Beans and Pease, which is both a pleasant and a hearty food, and of a prodigious encrease, even a hundred fold, which is suppos'd as the highest degree of fruitfulness, which often reminded me of the Marquess of Worcester's (see Note 28,) Apophthegm of Christ's Miracle of five Loves and two Fishes, viz. that as few grains of Corn as will make five Loves being sowed in the earth will multiply and increase to such advantage as will feed 5000 with Bread, and two Fishes will bring forth so many fishes as will suffice so many mouths, and because such are so ordinary amongst us every day, we take no notice of them: this Indian Corn is their constant Viaticum in their travels and War. Their Squaws or Wives and Female Sex manage their Harvest, whilst the Men Hunt and Fish, and Fowl; of



which they bring all varieties to New-York, and that so cheap that I remember a Venison bought for three shillings; their Rivers are plentifully furnish'd with fish, as Place, Pearch, Trouts, Eels, Bass and Sheepshead, the two last are delicate Fish: They have great store of wild-fowl, as Turkeys, Heath-hens, Quails, Partridges, Pigeons, Cranes, Geese, Brants, Ducks, Widgeon, Teal and divers others: And besides their natural Diet, they will eat freely with the Christians, as I observed once when we were at dinner at the Governor's Table, a Sackamaker or King came in with several of his Attendants, and upon invitation sat round upon the Floor (which is their usual posture) and ate of such Meat as was sent from the Table: amongst themselves when they are very hungry they will eat their Dogs, which are but young Wolves stolen from their damms, several of which I have seen following them, as our Dogs here, but they won't eat of our Dogs because they say we feed them with salt meat, which none or but few of the Indians love, for they had none before the Christians came: so unacquainted were they with Acids: They are of opinion that when they have ill success in their hunting, fishing, &c. their Menitto is the cause of it, therefore when they have good success they throw their fat into the fire as a Sacrifice ingeminating Kenah Menitto, i. e. I thank you Menitto; their Kin-tau Kauns, (see Note 29,) or time of sacrificing is at the beginning of winter, because then all things are fat, where a great many Sacka-makers or

Kings meet together, and Feast; every Nation or Tribe has its Ka-kin-do-wet, (see Note 30,) or Minister, and every Sacka-maker gives his Ka-kin-do-wet 12 fathom of Wampam mixt, and all that are able at that time throw down Wampam upon the ground for the Poor and Fatherless, of whom they have a great many. Now I am speaking of fishing and fowling it may not be improper to add some thing about the art of catching Whales, which is thus, two Boats with six Men in each make a Company, viz. four Oars-men or Rowers; an Harpineer and a Steers-man; about Christmas is the season for Whaling, for then the Whales come from the North-east, Southerly, and continue till the latter end of March, and then they return again; about the Fin is the surest part for the Harpineer to strike: As soon as he is wounded, he makes all foam, with his rapid violent Course, so that if they be not very quick in clearing their main Warp to let him run upon the tow, which is a line fastned to the Harping-iron about 50 fathoms long, its a hundred to one he over-sets the Boat: As to the nature of a Whale, they copulate as Land-beasts, as is evident from the female Teats and Male's Yard, and that they Spawn as other Fishes is a vulgar error, Lam. 4. 3. even the Sea monsters draw out the breast they give suck to their young ones. For further its observable that their young Suckers come along with them their several courses. A Whale about 60 foot long having a thick and free Blubber may yield or make 40 or 50 barrels of Oyl, every Barrel

containing 31 or 32 Gallons at 20s. a Barrel, if it hath a good large bone it may be half a Tun or a Thousand weight, which may give 25l. Sterling old England Money. A Dubartus is a Fish of the shape of a Whale, (see Note 31,) which have teeth where the Whale has Bone, there are some 30 or 40 foot long, they are call'd by some the Sea-Wolf, of them the Whales are afraid, and do many times run themselves ashore in flying from them, this is prov'd by the Whalers who have seen them seize upon them: the Blubber of the Whale will sometimes be half a yard thick or deep, if the Blubber be not fat and free, the Whale is call'd a Dry-skin; a Scrag-tail Whale is like another, only somewhat less, and his bone is not good, for it will not split, and it is of a mixt colour, their Blubber is as good for the quantity as others: I never heard of any Spermaceti Whales, either catch'd or driven upon these Shores, which Sperma as they call it (in the Bahama Islands) lies all over the body of these Whales, they have divers Teeth which may be about as big as a Man's wrist, which the ordinary Whales have not, they are very strong, fierce and swift, inlaid with Sinews all over their bodies. But to leave this Leviathan to his pastime in the deep, let us go a shore, and speak something of the nature of a Beaver, in hunting of which the Indians take great pains and pleasure; the Beaver hath two sorts of Hair, one short soft and fine to protect him from the cold, the other long and thick, to receive the dirt and mire, in which they are often busie and employed, and to hinder it

from spoiling the skin ; his teeth are of a peculiar contexture, fit to cut boughs and sticks, with which they build themselves houses, and lodgings of several stories and rooms, to breed their young ones in : for which purpose nature hath also furnish'd them with such forefeet as exactly resemble the feet of a Monkey, or the hands of a Man : their hind-feet proper for swimming, being like those of a Duck or Goose : As to the Castoreum or parts conceived to be bitten away to escape the Hunter, is a vulgar conceit, more owing to Juvenal and other poetical fancies than to any traditional truth, or the Etymologies of some bad Gramarians, deriving *Castore* a *castrando*, whereas the proper Latin word is *fiber*, and *castor*, but borrowed from the Greek, so called *quasi γαΐσιος*, i. e. animal ventricosum, from his swaggy and prominent belly : the particular account of which is in Dr. Brown's (see Note 32,) *Vulgar Errors* : but to be short, the bladders containing the Castoreum are distinct from the Testicles or Stones, and are found in both Sexes ; with which when the Indians take any of them they anoint their Traps or Gins which they set for these Animals, to allure and draw them hither.

As to the nature of Bears, their bringing forth their young informous and unshapen, I wholly refer you to Doctor Brown's said *Vulgar Errors* : the substance of their legs is of a particular structure, of a thick fattish ligament, very good to eat, and so the Indians say of their body, which is often their diet ; when they hunt them, they com-

monly go two or three in company with Guns: for in case one shoot and miss the Bear will make towards them, so they shoot one after another to escape the danger and make their Game sure: But without Guns or any Weapon except a good Cudgel or Stick. I was one with others that have had very good diversion and sport with them, in an Orchard of Mr. John Robinson's of New-York; (see Note 33), where we follow'd a Bear from Tree to Tree, upon which he could swarm like a Cat; and when he was got to his resting place, perch'd upon a high branch, we dispatc'd a youth after him with a Club to an opposite bough, who knocking his Paws, he comes grumbling down backwards with a thump upon the ground, so we after him again: His descending backwards is a thing particularly remarkable: Of which I never read any account, nor know not to what defect in its structure to impute it: unless to the want of the *intestinum cæcum*, which is the fourth Gut from the Ventricle or Stomach, and first of the thick Guts, which by reason of its divers infolds and turnings seems to have no end, and for that reason perhaps called cæcum or blind Gut: which being thick may probably detain the meat in the belly, in a descending posture: but these conjectures I wholly submit to the anatomical faculty: The Indians seems to have a great value for these animals, both for their skins and carkase-sake, the one good meat, the other good barter: And I may infer the same from a present which my acquaintance, old Claus the Indian, made me of a couple of well grown Bears

Cubs, two or three days before I took Shipping for England, he thinking I would have brought them along with me, which present I accepted with a great deal of Ceremony (as we must every thing from their hands) and ordered my Negro boy about 12 years old to tie them under the Crib by my Horse, and so left them to any ones acceptance upon my going aboard: I brought over with me a Grey Squirrel, a Parrot and a Rockoon, the first the Lady Sherard (see Note 34,) had some years at Stapleford, the second, I left at London; the last I brought along with me to Alford, where one Sunday in Prayer time some Boys giving it Nutts, it was choaked with a shell: It was by nature a very curious cleanly Creature, never eating any thing but first washed it with its forefeet very carefully: the Parrot was a prattling familiar bird, and diverting company in my solitary intervals upon our Voyage home. As I was talking with it upon the Quarter Deck, by a sudden rowling of the Ship, down drops Pall overboard into the Sea and cry'd out amain poor Pall: The Ship being almost becalm'd, a kind Seaman threw out a Rope, and Pall seiz'd it with his Beak and came safe aboard again: This for my own diversion. As the Serpent was the most dangerous reptile in Paradise, so is the Rattle Snake in the Wilderness. It has its name from the configuration of its skin, which consists of several foldings which are all contracted *dum latet in herba*, whilst it lies on the grass, or at the root of some rotten Tree, from whence it often surprises the unwary traveller, and in throwing himself at

his legs: The dilating of these folds occasion a rattling. Wherever it penetrates or bites it certainly poysons: they are in their greatest vigour in July; but the all-wise Providence which hath furnish'd every Climate with antidotes proper for their distempers and annoyances, has afforded great plenty of Penny-royal or Ditany, whose leaves bruised are very hot and biting upon the Tongue, which being tied in a clift of a long stick, and held to the nose of a Rattle Snake, will soon kill it by the smell and scent thereof; the vertues of this Plant are so effectual, that we read by taking of it inwardly, or by outward application and by fume it will expell a dead Child. And the juice of it applied to wounds made by Sword, or the biting of venomous creatures is a present remedy: but besides this, I shall speak of another way of drawing out the poyson of these Creatures, which is by sucking of it out with their mouths, which one Indian will do for another, or for any Christian so poyson'd: A rare example of pure humanity, even equal to that of the Lady Elenor, the Wife of King Edward the first, who when her Husband had three wounds given him with the poysoned Knife of Anzazim the Saracen, two in the Arm and one near the Arm-pit, which by reason of the envenom'd blade were fear'd to be mortal, and when no Medicine could extract the poyson, his Lady did it with her Tongue, licking dayly while her Husband slept, his rankling wounds, whereby they perfectly clos'd, and yet her self receiv'd no harm, so sovereign a medicine is a good Tongue,

beyond the attractive power of Cupping Glasses and Cauteries. It were to be wish'd that where Penny-royal or Dittany is scarce or unknown, that every Country family understood the vertue of Rue or Herb-a-grace, which is held as a preservative against infectious Diseases, and cures the biting of a mad Dog or other venom, which would be no invasion upon, or striving with the dispensatory of Pestal and Mortar, Still and Furnace; which legal faculties and professions being established and encourag'd by the wise constitutions of Governments, should not be interlop'd and undermin'd by persons of any other faculties, who are too apt to add temporal Pluralities to their spiritual Cures. Indeed it is a duty owing to human nature, to administer to and assist any one *in forma pauperis*, but to take a fee a reward or gratuity from a Naaman or a person able to employ the proper faculty, is to act the Gehazi, and not the Prophet Elisha; *Miles equis, piscator aquis*, an hammer for the Smith, an Homer for the School, let the Shooe-maker mind his Boot, and the Fisherman his Boat, the Divine his Sermon, and the Doctor his Salmon. This digression I hope will be taken as it's written with an impartial deference to both professions: for as we are taught from Jesus the Son of Sirach, to honor the physician for his skill, and the Apothecary for his confections, Ecclesiasticus chap. 38. 1. 8. so we are taught from a greater than he, to honor and revere the Doctors of souls, the holy Jesus the Son of God, for their Spiritual Cures and Dispensatories: But to



return to the Indians, they have Doctors amongst them, whom they call Me-ta-ow, (see Note 35,) to whom every one gives something for there Cure, but if they die nothing at all, and indeed their skill in simples costs them nothing, their general remedy for all diseases is their sweating: Which is thus: when they find themselves any ways indisposed, they make a small Wigwam or House, nigh a River-side, out of which in the extremity of the Sweat they plunge themselves into the Water; about which I discoursed with one of their Me-ta-ows, and told him of the European way of Sweating in Beds, and rubbing our bodies with warm cloths: to which he answered he thought theirs the more effectual way: because the water does immediately stop all the passages (as he call'd the Pores) and at the same time wash off the excrementitious remainder of the Sweat, which he thought could not be so clearly done by friction or rubbing; which practice I leave to the consideration or rather diversion of the Physicians and their Balneo's: but this experiment prov'd Epidemical in Small-Pox, by hindering them from coming out. As to their way of living, it's very rudely and rovingly, shifting from place to place, according to their exigencies, and gains of fishing and fowling and hunting, never confining their rambling humors to any settled Mansions. Their Houses which they call Wigwams are as so many Tents or Booths covered with the barks of Trees, in the midst of which they have their fires, about which they sit in the day time, and lie in the

nights; they are so Saturnine that they love extremes either to sit still or to be in robustous motions, spending their time in drowsie conferences, being naturally unenclin'd to any but lusory pastimes and exercises; their Diet in general is raw Flesh, Fish, Herbs, and Roots or such as the Elements produce without the concoction of the fire to prepare it for their Stomachs; so their Horses are of a hardy tempérament, patient of hunger and cold, and in the sharp winter, when the ground is cover'd with Snow, nourish themselves with the barks of Trees, and such average and herbage as they can find at the bottom of the Snow: But now I am speaking of Horses, I never could be inform'd nor ever did see an Indian to have been on Horseback: Of which there are great ranges runing wild in the Woods, to which they pretend no right: but leave them to the Dutch and English Chevaliers to tame and manage; for which I often wondered there were not cheif Rangers, and a *Charta de Foresta* to regulate such Games. When they travel by water, they have small Boats, which they call Canoes, made of the barks of Trees, so very narrow, that two can neither sit nor stand a breast, and those they row with long paddles, and that so swiftly, that they'll skim away from a Boat with four Oars, I have taken a particular pleasure in plying these paddles, standing upright and steddly, which is their usual posture for dispatch: In which they bring Oysters and other fish for the Market: they are so light and portable that a Man and his Squaw will take them upon their Sholders and

carry them by Land from one River to another, with a wonderful expedition; they will venture with them in a dangerous Current, even through Hell-gate it self, which lies in an arm of the Sea, about ten miles from New-York Eastward to New-England, as dangerous and as unaccountable as the Norway Whirl-pool or Maelstrom: in this Hell-gate which is a narrow passage, runneth a rapid violent Stream both upon Flood and Ebb; and in the middle lieth some Islands of Rocks, upon which the Current sets so violently, that it threatens present Shipwrack; and upon the Flood is a large whirlpool, which sends forth a continual hedious roaring; it is a place of great defence against an Enemy coming that way, which a small Fortification would absolutely prevent, by forcing them to come in at the west-end of Long-Island by Sandy-Hook, where Nutten-Island would force them within the command of the Fort of New-York, which is one of the strongest and best situated Garrisons in the North parts of America, and was never taken but once through the default of one Captain Manning, who in absence of the Governour suffered the Dutch to take it; for which he was condemned to an Exile to a small Island from his name, call'd Manning's Island, where I have been several times with the said Captain, whose entertainment was commonly a Bowl of Rum-Punch. (See Note 36.) In deep Snows the Indians with broad Shoos much in the shap of the round part of our Rackets which we use at Tennis: will travel without sinking in the least: at other times

their common ordinary Shooes are parts of raw Beasts-skins tied about their feet: when they travel, for directing others who follow them, they lay sticks across, or leave some certain mark on Trees. Now I am speaking of the Indian Shooes, I cannot forbear acquainting the Reader that I seldom or never observ'd the Dutch Women wear any thing but Slippers at home and abroad, which often reminded me of what I read in Dr. Hamond (see Note 37,) upon the 6th of Ephesians, N. B. that the Ægyptian Virgins were not permitted to wear Shooes, i. e. not ready to go abroad: like the custom among the Hebrews, whose women were call'd *οικοεις*, *domi portæ* and *οικεσσαι* home-setters and *οικεσσαι* house bearers, the Heathen painted before the modest women's doors Venus sitting upon a Snail, *quæ domi porta vocatur*, called a House bearer, to teach them to stay at home, and to carry their Houses about with them. So the Virgins were called by the Hebrews *Gnalamoth*, *absconditæ*, hid, and the places of their abodes *παρθενωναί*, *cellæ Virginales*, Virgins Cells. Contrary to these are Whores Pro. 7. II. her feet abide not in her house, therefore the Chaldees call her *Niphcath-hara* going abroad, and an Harlot the Daughter of an Harlot, *egredientem filiam egredientis*, a goer forth, the Daughter of a goer forth; and when Dinah went out to see the Daughters of the Land, and was ravish'd by Sichem: Simeon and Levi cry out, should he deal with our Sister as with an Harlot, which the Targum renders, *an sicut exeuntem foras*: They have another custom differing

from other Nations. They feast freely and merrily at the Funeral of any Friend, to which I have been often invited and sometimes a Guest, a custom derived from the Gentiles to the latter Jews, according to which says Josephus of Archelaus, he mourned seven days for his Father, and made a sumptuous Funeral Feast for the multitude, and he adds that this custom was the impoverishing of many Families among the Jews, and that upon necessity, for if a Man omitted it, he was accounted no pious Man. The Dutch eat and drink very plentifully at these Feasts; but I do not remember any Musick or Minstrels, or *monumentarii choralæ* mentioned by Apuleius, or any of the Musick mentioned by Ovid *de fastis*.

*Cantabis mæstis tibia funeribus.*

So that perhaps it may be in imitation of David's example, who as soon as his child was dead, wash'd and anointed himself and ate his bread as formerly, 2 Sam. 12. 20. In all these Feasts I observ'd they sit Men and Women intermixt, and not as our English do Women and Men by themselves apart. (See Note 38.)

*Of the Indians Marriages and Burials.*

When an Indian has a mind to a woman (asking the consent of Parents) he gives her so many Fathom of Wampam according to his ability, then his betrothed covers her face for the whole year before she is married, which put me in mind of Rebekah, who took a veil and covered her self

when she met Isaac, Gen. 24. 65. which veil (saith *Tertullian de velandis virginibus*) was a token of her modesty and subjection. The Husband doth not lie with his Squaw or Wife, whilst the Child has done Sucking, which is commonly two years, for they say the Milk will not be good if they get Children so fast. They bury their friends sitting upon their heels as they usually sit, and they put into their graves with them a Kettle, a Bow and Arrows, and a Notas or Purse of Wampam; they fancy that after their death they go to the Southward, and so they take their necessaries along with them; or perhaps like the uncircumcis'd in Ezek. 32. 27. who went down to the Grave with Weapons of War, and laid their Swords under their heads, the ensigns of Valor and Honor: as tho they would carry their strength to the grave with them, contrary to that of the Apostle, it is sown a weak body, 1 Cor. 15. They mourn over their dead commonly two or three days before they bury them: they fence and stockado their graves about, visiting them once a year, dressing the weeds from them, many times they plant a certain Tree by their Graves which keeps green all the year: They all believe they shall live as they do now, and think they shall marry, but must not work as they do here; they hold their Soul or Spirit to be the breath of Man: They have a Tradition amongst them that about five hundred years agoe, a Man call'd (Wach que ow) came down from above, upon a Barrel's-head, let down by a Rope, and lived 'amongst them sixty years, who

told them he came from an happy place, where there were many of their Nations, and so he left them. And they have another Tradition of one Meco Nish, who had lain as dead sixteen days, all which time he was unburied, because he had a little warmth about his breast, and after sixteen days he lived again, in which interval he told them he had been in a fine place where he saw all that had been dead. Such Traditions as these ought to be lookt upon by the Professors of Christianity, as the Epileptick half moon Doctrine of that grand Enthusiast Mahomet, beyond whose Tomb hanging in the air his Superstitious Arabians are not able to lift their minds to the Kingdom of Heaven: So that the Mahometans Tomb and the Indians Tub may stand upon the same bottom, as to their Credit and Tradition: and the Indians after their rising again to the Southward shall Marry, Eat and Drink, may plead as fair for them as the Mahometans earthly Paradise of Virgins with fairer and larger eyes than ever they beheld in this world, and such like sensual enjoyments, which its even a shame to mention: or the Jews worldly Messiah, who ought all to be the dayly objects of our Christian prayers and endeavours for their Conversion, that they may believe and obtain a better Resurrection, even the *Necumah* (see Note 39,) the day of Consolation, when we shall be so wonderfully changed as to be fit Companions for Angels, and reign with our Saviour in his Glory, who only hath the words of eternal life. In order to which I shall endeavour to offer some proposals

in a Second Part, *de propaganda fide*; and so conclude this with some mixt occasional observations, with all due respects to some modern Criticks: Whether Adam or Eve sewed their fig-leave together with needle and thread is not my business to be so nice as *rem istam acu tangere*: But this I am well inform'd of, That the Indians, make thread of Nettles pill'd when full ripe, pure white and fine, and likewise another sort of brownish thread of a small weed almost like a Willow, which grows in the Wood, about three foot high, which is called Indian Hemp, of which they likewise make Ropes and bring them to sell, which wears as strong as our Hemp, only it wont endure wet so well, of this they make their Baggs, Purses or Sacks which they call Notas, which word signifies a Belly, (see Note 40,) and so they call any thing that's hollow to carry any thing. Their work is weaving with their fingers, they twist all their thread upon their Thighs, with the palm of their hands, they interweave their Porcupine quills into their baggs, their Needles they make of fishes or small beast bones, and before the Christians came amongst them, they had Needles of Wood, for which Nut-wood was esteemed best, called *Um-be-re-makqua*, their Axes and Knives they made of white Flint-stones; and with a Flint they will cut down any tree as soon as a carpenter with a Hatchet, which experiment was tried of late years by one Mr. Crabb of Alford in Lincolnshire, for a considerable wager, who cut down a large Tree with a flint, handled the Indian way, with an unexpected art



and quickness. They make their Candles of the same wood that the Masts of Ships are made of, which they call *Woss-ra-neck*. (See Note 41.) Thus far of the Indians, in this first part, which were part of my own personal observations, and other good informations from one Claus an Indian, otherwise called Nicholas by the English, but Claus by the Dutch, with whom I was much acquainted, and likewise from one Mr. John Edsal the constant Interpreter betwixt the Governor and the Indians, and all others upon all important affairs, who was my intimate acquaintance, and his Son my Scholar and Servant, whose own hand-writing is in many of my Memorials: One thing I had almost forgot, i. e. when the Indians look one another's Heads they eat the Lice and say they are wholesome, never throwing any away or killing them: In a word as they have a great many manly instincts of nature, so I observed them very civil and respectful both in their behaviour and entertainment; I cannot say that ever I met any company of them, which I frequently did in my walks out of the Town, but they would bow both Head and Knee, saying here comes the *Sacka-makers Kakin-dowet*, i. e. the Governours Minister, whom I always saluted again with all due ceremony. They are faith-guides in the woods in times of Peace, and as dangerous enemies in times of War. Their way of fighting is upon Swamps, i. e. Bogs and Quagmires, in sculking Ambushes, beyond Trees and in Thickets, and never in a body. When they intend War they paint their faces black, but red

is the sun-shine of Peace. There are several Nations which may be more properly called Tribes of Indians.

Rockaway upon the South of Jamaica upon Long-Island, the 1.

Sea-qua-ta-eg, to the South of Huntingdon, the 2.

Unckah-chau-ge, Brooke-haven, the 3.

Se-tauck, Seatauchet North, the 4.

Ocqua-baug, South-hold to the North, the 5.

Shin-na-cock, Southampton, the greatest Tribe, the 6.

Mun-tauck, to the Eastward of East-Hampton, the 7.

All these are Long-Island Indians. (See Note 42 )

*The Tribes which are Friends.*

Top-paun, the greatest, which consists of an hundred and fifty fighting young Men. It's call'd the greatest because they have the greatest Sachim or Sacka-maker, i. e. King, whose name is Maim-shee.

The Second is Ma-nissing, which lies westward from Top-paun, two days Journey ; it consists of three hundred fighting Men, the Sacka-makers name is called Taum-ma-hau-Quauk.

The Third, Wee-quoss-cah-chau. i. e. Westches-ter Indians, which consists of seventy fighting Men, the Sacka-makers name is Wase-sa-kin-now.

The Fourth, Na-ussin, or Neversinks, a Tribe of very few, the Sacka-makers name is Onz-zeech.

May the lover of Souls bring these scattered desert people home to his own Flock.

To return from the Wilderness into New-York, a place of as sweet and agreeable air as ever I breathed in, and the Inhabitants, both English and Dutch very civil and courteous as I may speak by experience, amongst whom I have often wished my self and Family, to whose tables I was frequently invited, and always concluded with a generous bottle of Madera. I cannot say I observed any swearing or quarrelling, but what was easily reconciled and recanted by a mild rebuke, except once betwixt two Dutch Boors (whose usual oath is Sacrament) which abateing the abusive language, was no unpleasant Scene. As soon as they met (which was after they had alarm'd the neighbourhood) they seized each other's hair with their forefeet, and down they went to the Sod, their Vrows and Families crying out because they could not part them, which fray happening against my Chamber window, I called up one of my acquaintance, and ordered him to fetch a kit full of water and discharge it at them, which immediately cool'd their courage, and loosed their grapples: so we used to part our Mastiffs in England. In the same City of New-York where I was Minister to the English, there were two other Ministers or Domines as they were called there, the one a Lutheran a German or High-Dutch, the other a Calvinist an Hollander or Low-Dutchman, who behav'd themselves one towards another so shily and uncharitably as if

Luther and Calvin had bequeathed and entailed their virulent and bigotted Spirits upon them and their heirs forever. They had not visited or spoken to each other with any respect for six years together before my being there, with whom I being much acquainted, I invited them both with their Vrows to a Supper one night unknown to each other, with an obligation, that they should not speak one word in Dutch, under the penalty of a Bottle of Medera, alledging I was so imperfect in that Language that we could not manage a sociable discourse, so accordingly they came, and at the first interview they stood so appaled as if the Ghosts of Luther and Calvin had suffered a transmigration, but the amaze soon went off with a *salve tu quoque*, and a Bottle of Wine, of which the Calvinist Domine was a true Carouzer, and so we continued our *Mensalia* the whole meeting in Latine, which they both spoke so fluently and promptly that I blush'd at my self with a passionate regret, that I could not keep pace with them; and at the same time could not forbear reflecting upon our English Schools and Universities (who indeed write Latine Elegantly) but speak it, as if they were confined to Mood and Figure, Forms, and Phrases, whereas it should be their common talk in their Seats and Halls, as well as in their School Disputations, and Themes. This with all deference to these repositories of Learning. As to the Dutch Language in which I was but a smatterer, I think it lofty, majestic and emphatical, especially the German or High-Dutch, which as

far as I understand it is very expressive in the Scriptures, and so underived that it may take place next the Oriental Languages, and the Septuagint: The name of the Calvinist was Newenhouse, (see Note 43), of the Lutheran Bernhardus Frazius, who was of a Gentile Personage, and a very agreeable behaviour in conversation, I seldom knew of any Law-suits, for indeed Attorneys were denied the liberty of pleading: The English observed one anniversary custom, and that without superstition, I mean the *strenarum commercium*, as Suetonius calls them, a neighbourly commerce of presents every New-Years day.

*Totus ab auspicio, ne foret annus iners.* Ovid. Fastor.

Some would send me a Sugar-loaf, some a pair of Gloves, some a Bottle or two of Wine. In a word, the English Merchants and Factors (whose names are at the beginning) were very unanimous and obliging. There was one person of Quality, by name Mr. Russel, (see Note 44,) younger brother to the late Lord Russel, a gentleman of a comely Personage, and very obliging, to whose lodgings I was often welcome: But I suppose his Fortune was that of a younger Brother according to Henry the VIII's. Constitution, who abolished and repealed the Gavelkind custom, whereby the Lands of the Father were equally divided among all his Sons, so that ever since the Cadets or younger Sons of the English Nobility and Gentry, have only that of the Poet to bear up their Spirits.

*Sum pauper, non culpa mea est, sed culpa parentum  
Qui me fratre meo non genuere prius.*

In my rude English rhiming thus.  
I'm poor (my dad) but that's no fault of mine,  
If any fault there be, the fault is thine,  
Because thou did'st not give us Gavelkine.

The Dutch in New-York observe this custom, an instance of which I remember in one Frederick Philips (see Note 45,) the richest Miin Heer in that place, who was said to have whole Hogsheads of Indian Money or Wampam, who having one Son and Daughter, I was admiring what a heap of Wealth the Son would enjoy, to which a Dutch Man replied, that the Daughter must go halves, for so was the manner amongst them, they standing more upon Nature than Names; that as the root communicates it self to all its branches, so should the Parent to all his off-spring which are the Olive branches round about his Table. And if the case be so, the minors and infantry of the best Families might wish they had been born in Kent, rather than in such a Christendom as entails upon them their elder Brother's old Cloths, or some superannuated incumber'd reversion, but to invite both elder and younger Brothers to this sweet Climate of New-York, when they arrive there, if they are enclined to settle a Plantation, they may purchase a tract of ground at a very small rate, in my time at two-pence or three-pence the Acre, for which they have a good Patent or Deed from the Governor. Indeed its all full of Wood, which as it

will require some years before it be fit for use, so the burning of it does manure and meliorate the Soil; if they be for Merchandice, they pay for their freedom in New-York but fix Beyers or an equivalent in Money, i. e. three pounds twelve shillings, and seventeen shillings Fees: And Goods that are brought over commonly return cent. per cent. i. e. a hundred pounds laid out in London will commonly yield or afford 200 pounds there. Fifty per cent. is looked upon as an indifferent advance, the species of payment and credit or trust is sometimes hazardous, and the Commodities of that Country will yield very near as much imported into England, for three and forty pounds laid out in Bever and other Furs, when I came away, I received about four-score in London; indeed the Custom upon the skins is high, which perhaps might raise it to eight and forty pounds, or fifty; as for what I had occasion, some things were reasonable, some dear. I paid for two load of Oats in the straw 18 shillings to one Mr. Henry Dyer: to the same for a load of Pease-straw six shillings: paid to Thomas Davis for shoeing my Horse three shillings, for in that place Horses are seldom, some not shod at all, their Hoofs by running in the woods so long before they are backed are like Flints: Paid to Derick, i. e. Richard Se-cah's Son for a load of Hay twelve shillings: Paid to Denys Fisher's Son a Carpenter, for two days work in the Stable eight shillings: for a Curry Comb and Horse-brush four shillings: to Jonathan the Barber 1*l.* 4*s.* the year: to the Shoo-maker for

a pair of Boots and Shooes 1*l.* 5*s.* to the Washer-woman or Laundress 1*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.* the Year. So all Commodities and Trades are dearer or cheaper according to the plenty of importation from England and other parts: The City of New-York in my time was as large as some Market Towns with us, all built the London way; the Garrison side of a high situation and a pleasant Prospect, the Island it stands on all a level and Champain; the diversion especially in the Winter season used by the Dutch is aurigation, i. e. riding about in Wagons which is allowed by Physicians to be a very healthful exercise by Land. And upon the Ice its admirable to see Men and Women as it were flying upon their Skates from place to place, (see Note 46), with Markets upon their Heads and Backs. In a word, it's a place so every way inviting that our English Gentry, Merchants and Clergy (especially such as have the natural Stamina of a consumptive propagation in them; or an Hypochondriacal Consumption) would flock thither for self preservation. This I have all the reason to affirm, and believe from the benign effectual influence it had upon my own constitution; but oh the passage, the passage thither, *hic labor, hoc opus est*: there is the timorous objection: the Ship may founder by springing a Leak, be wreckt by a Storm or taken by a Pickeroon: which are plausible pleas to flesh and blood, but if we would examine the bills of mortality and compare the several accidents and diseases by the Land, we should find them almost a hundred for one to what happens by Sea, which



deserves a particular Essay, and if we will believe the ingenious Dr. Carr in his *Epistolæ Medicinales*, there is an *Emetick Vomitory* vertue in the Sea-water it self, which by the motion of the Ship operates upon the Stomach and ejects whatever is offensive, and so extimulates and provokes or recovers the appetite, which is the chieftest defect in such Constitutions: and besides, there is a daily curiosity in contemplating the wonders of the Deep, as to see a Whale wallowing and spouting cataracts of Water, to see the Dolphin that hieroglyphick of celerity leaping above water in chase of the flying fish, which I have sometimes tasted of as they flew aboard, where they immediately expire out of their Element; and now and then to hale up that Canibal of the Sea, I mean the Shark, by the bate of a large gobbet of Beef or Pork; who makes the Deck shake again by his flapping violence, and opens his devouring mouth with double rows of teeth, in shape like a Skate or Flare as we call them in Cambridge; of which dreadful fish I have often made a meal at Sea, but indeed it was for want of other Provisions. When I came for England in a Quaker's Ship, whose Master's name was Heathcot; (see Note 47,) who, when he had his plum Broths, I and the rest were glad of what Providence sent us from day to day, our water and other Provisions, which he told us upon going aboard were fresh and newly taken in, were before we arrived in England so old and nauseous that we held our noses when we used them, and had it not been for a kind Rundlet of Medera Wine, which the Go-

vernor's Lady presented me with, it had gone worse: but such a passage may not happen once in a hundred times; for as I went from England to New-York, I fared very plentifully both with fresh and season'd meat, & good drink, Sheep killed according to our occasion, and likewise Poultry coop'd up and corn'd and cram'd, which made the common Sea men so long for a novelty, that as I went down betwixt Decks I observ'd two Terpaulins tossing something in a Blanket, and being very inquisitive they told me they were roasting a Cockerill, which was by putting a red-hot Bullet into it after it was trust, which would fetch all the Feathers off and roast well enough for their Stomachs, at which I smiling went again above-deck, and made it a publick and pardonable diversion; but as to the Sharks, as our Ship was one day becalm'd, and four of our Seamen for diversion Swimming about the Vessel, we on board espied two or three of them making towards their prey, we all shouted and made what noise we could, and scared them (tho with much ado) from seizing the Men, whilst we drew them up by ropes cast out; when they are sure of their prey they turn themselves upon their backs & strike their Prey, but in case a Man has the courage to face them in swimming they make away, so awful is the aspect of that noble animal Man: but suppose his Courage or his Strength fails him, and he becomes a prey to any of the watry host, what difference betwixt being eaten by fish or by worms at the Christian Resurrection, when the Sea must

give up its Dead, and our scattered parts be recollected into the same form again ; but to conclude all with an Apophthegm of the Lord Bacon's, viz. ' One was saying that his Great-Grand-father ' Grand-father and Father died at Sea. Said another that heard him, and as I were you, I would ' never come to Sea ; why saith he, where did ' your Great-Grand-father and Ancestors die ? he ' answered where but in their Beds, saith the ' other, and I were as you I would never go to Bed. But for all this I durst venture a knap in a Cabbin at Sea, or in a Hammock in the Woods. So Reader a good Night.

*Opere in tanto fas est obrepere somnum.*

*F I N I S .*



## NOTES.

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### *Note 1, page 21.*

The good ship *Blossom* belonged to Charlestown, Mass., and was one of the "regular traders" of those days. We find that Sir Robert Carr returned to England from New York in 1667, in a vessel commanded by Captain Martin. Shortly after her arrival at New York with Gov. Andros, Robert Swet her boatswain ran away, and a "hue and cry" was sent after him from the office of the Provincial Secretary to Long Island and "The Maine." The *Blossom* cleared from New York for England on the 14th October, 1678, with the following passengers: Edward Griffith, John Delaval, Abram Depeyster, Jacques Guyon, Thomas Mollineux, Mrs. Mary Vervanger, Mrs. Frances Lowden, Mrs. Charity Clarke, Mrs. Rachel Whitthill her sister, Barent Reinderts, wife and five children, and Levynus Van Schaick; and carried back the governor's despatches. We lose sight of the good vessel now until the 6th of July, 1681, when she again arrived in New York, from which port she cleared for the Medeiros on the 1st of September following, still under the command of Capt. Richard Martin. On the 28th September, 1683, she cleared for Boston from New York; arrived at Amboy, N. J., from England, on the 15th February, 1684-5, and cleared at New York for Barbadoes on the 6th of June, 1685. From 1691 to 1701 we find the "pinke" *Blossom* a regular trader between the island of Barbadoes and New York, but under another commander.—*N. Y. State Rec.*

### *Note 2, page 21.*

Sir EDMUND ANDROS, Knight, Seigneur of Sausmarez, was born in London 6th December, 1637. His ancestors were from Northamptonshire. John Andros, the first of them connected with Guernsey, was Lieutenant to Sir Peter Meantis, the Governor, and married, in 1543, Judith de Sausmarez, the heiress, who brought the fief Sausmarez into the family. Their son, John, became a King's ward, in the custody of Sir Leonard Chamberlain, the Governor, during a long minority, and appears as a Jurat of the Royal court at the coming of the Royal Commissioners in 1582. The grandson, Thomas, also a Jurat, was Lieutenant-Governor, under Lord Carew, in 1611. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Amice de Carteret, Seigneur of Winsby Manor in Jersey, and Lieutenant-Governor and Bailiiff of Guernsey, and had many children. Amice, father of Sir Edmund,

was the eldest son, and married Elizabeth Stone, sister of Sir Robert Stone, Knight, Cupbearer to the Queen of Bohemia, and captain of a troop of horse in Holland; he was Master of the Ceremonies to King Charles the First when his son Edmund was born, who was brought up from a boy in the Royal family, and in its exile commenced his career of arms in Holland, under Prince Henry of Nassau. Upon the restoration of Charles the Second in 1660, the inhabitants of Guernsey thought it right to petition for pardon for having submitted to Cromwell. On the 13th August, an Order in Council was issued granting said pardon, but declaring, at the same time, that Amice Andros of Sausmarez, Bailiff of said Island, Edmund his son, and Charles, brother of Amice, had, to their great credit during the late Rebellion, continued inviolably faithful to his Majesty, and consequently, have no need of being comprised in the general pardon. To reward his loyalty, Edmund was made Gentleman in Ordinary to Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia, the King's aunt, noted for the vicissitudes of her life, and as having given an heir to the House of Hanover; her daughter, Princess Sophia, being the mother of George the First. He subsequently distinguished himself in the war waged by Charles the Second against the Dutch, and which ended in 1667. He married in 1671, Mary, daughter of Sir Thomas Craven, a sister of Sir W. Craven, of Appletreewick in Yorkshire, and of Combe Abbey in Warwickshire, Knight, heir in reversion to the Barony of Craven of Hampstead Marshall. On 2d April, 1672, a regiment of dragoons, raised for the King's cousin, Prince Rupert, was directed to be armed "with the bayonet or great knife;" this being its first introduction into the English army. Major Andros was promoted to this regiment, and the four Barbadoes companies then under his command, were advanced to be troops of horse in it. (*Origin and Services of the Coldstream Guards, by Col. Mackinnon.*) In the same year, the proprietors of the Province of Carolina, by patent in the Latin language, dated 23d April, under their great seal and hands, and making allusion to his services and merits, conferred on him and his heirs the title and dignity of Landgrave, with four Baronies containing 48,000 acres of land at a quit-rent of a penny an acre. The distinction bestowed by the proprietors, honorable as it was, does not appear to have been otherwise beneficial, and neither he nor his heirs, it is believed, at any time derived advantage from the large quantity of land annexed to the dignity. In 1674, on the death of his father, he became Seigneur of the Fiefs and succeeded to the office of Bailiff of Guernsey, the reversion to which had been granted him. The war which had recommenced with the Dutch having terminated, his regiment was disbanded, and he was commissioned by the King to receive New York and its dependencies, pursuant to the treaty of peace, and constituted Governor of that Province. He arrived in this country, accompanied by his wife, on the 1st of November, 1674, and entered on the government on the 10th of that month. He returned to England in November, 1677, and was Knighted by Charles the Second in 1678, when he resumed his government, the affairs of which he continued to administer until

January, 1681 (N. S.), when he repaired, by order, to England, and in 1682 was sworn Gentleman of the King's Privy Chamber. In the following year, the Island of Alderney was granted to him and Lady Mary Andros, for ninety-nine years, at a rent of thirteen shillings, and in 1685 he was made Colonel of her Royal Highness Princess Anne of Denmark's regiment of horse. In 1686, James the Second appointed him Governor, Captain-General and Vice-Admiral of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, New Plymouth and certain dependent territories, and soon afterwards, in addition, of Rhode Island and of Connecticut, comprehending the whole of New England. He arrived at Nantasket in the *Kingfisher*, 50, on the 19th December, 1686, and was received, a few days after, in Boston "with great acclamation of joy." (*Cambridge Almanac*, 1687.) On the 7th April, 1688, New York and New Jersey were placed under his jurisdiction. In the month of September following, he held a Treaty with the Five Nations of Indians at Albany, and a few weeks after returned to Boston, where he had the misfortune to lose his wife in the forepart of the following year. Her Ladyship was buried by torchlight, the corpse having been carried from the Governor's residence to the South Church, in a hearse drawn by six horses, attended by a suitable guard of honor. In the administration of his government, Sir Edmund Andros failed not to become unpopular, and on the 18th April, 1689, shortly after the receipt of the news of the Revolution, he was deposed and imprisoned, and sent back to England in 1690. He continued, notwithstanding, in the favor of the Court, and in 1692 William the Third preferred him to the governorship of Virginia, to which was adjoined that of Maryland. Governor Andros brought over to Virginia the Charter of William and Mary's College, of which he laid the foundation. He encouraged manufactures and the cultivation of cotton in that Colony, regulated the Secretary's office, where he commanded all the public papers and records to be sorted and kept in order, and when the State House was burnt, had them carefully preserved and again sorted and registered. By these and other commendable acts, he succeeded in gaining the esteem of the people, and in all likelihood would have been still more useful to the Colony had his stay been longer, but his administration closed in November, 1698. (*Beverly's Virginia*, I, 37; *Oldmixon*, I, 396-398.) In 1704, under Queen Anne, he was extraordinarily distinguished by having the government of Guernsey bestowed upon him, which he held for two years; he continued Bailiff until his death, and was empowered to appoint his Lieutenant-Bailiff, who was likewise authorized to name a deputy. Sir Edmund Andros was married three times. The second wife was of the family of Crispe, which, like his own, had been attached to the Royal house in its necessities. He closed his eventful life in the parish of St. Anne, Westminster, without issue, in February, 1713 (O. S.), in his 76th year.—*N. Y. Colonial Documents*, II, 740.

*Note 3, Page 21.*

WILLIAM PINHORNE had been a resident of New York previous to this time, and this was his return voyage from England. In May, 1683, he became the purchaser of the garden previously called Lovelace's Garden-house, in Broadway, N. Y., for which he paid the sum of forty pounds sterling. On the grant of a charter to the city by Governor Dongan, Mr. Pinhorne was named Alderman for the East Ward, and was elected Speaker of the Assembly which met in October, 1685. On the appointment of Sloughter to the government of New York, Mr. Pinhorne was named one of his Council, and subsequently member of the special commission which tried and condemned Leisler. In March, 1691, we find him appointed Recorder of the city of New York, and on the 5th May following, fourth justice of the Supreme Court of the Province. He held the office of Recorder until September 1, 1692, when he was removed from that, and his place in the Council, on account of non-residence. On 22d March, 1693, he became second justice of the Supreme Court, and having returned to the city of New York, was restored to his seat in the Council on 10th of June of the last mentioned year. Whilst in this situation he succeeded in securing for himself and others, an extravagant grant of land on the Mohawk river, west of Fort Hunter, fifty miles long and two miles on each side the river, at the rent of one beaver skin for the first seven years, and five beaver skins yearly for ever thereafter. But Lord Bellomont having arrived in 1698, power passed into the hands of the Leisler party, and Mr. Pinhorne was suspended, on the 7th June, from his offices of judge and councillor, on a charge of having "spoke most scandalous and reproachful words" of the King. This was followed in the course of the next year by an Act vacating his extravagant grant on the Mohawk. He now retired to his plantation on Snake Hill, on Hackensack river, N. J., and was next appointed second judge of the Supreme Court of that Province, of the Council of which he was also a member, and took his seat on the bench at Burlington in November, 1704. Here he shared all the obloquy which attached to his son-in-law, Chief Justice Mompesson. Lieutenant-Governor Ingoldesby having been removed from office, on the earnest application of the people, was succeeded by Mr. Pinhorne, who was at that time president of the Council, and who now exercised the power of commander-in-chief. The latter was superceded on the 10th June, 1710, by the arrival of Governor Hunter, and the Assembly soon after demanding his removal from all places of trust in the Province, he was dismissed in 1713. He died towards the close of 1719. Judge Pinhorne was married to Mary, daughter of Lieutenant-Governor Ingoldesby, in virtue of whose will (dated 31 August, 1711), she and her children, Mary and John, became patentees of lands in the towns of Cornwall and New Windsor, Orange county, N. Y.—*N. Y. Colonial Docs.*, III, 716.



*Note 4, Page 21.*

JAMES GRAHAM was a native of Scotland, and is found a resident merchant of the city of New York as early as July, 1678, and a few years later, proprietor of lands in Ulster county, Staten Island, and in New Jersey. He succeeded Mr. Rudyard as Attorney-General of the Province of New York, on 10th of December, 1685, and was sworn of the Council on the 8th of October, 1687. When the government of New England and New York were consolidated by James II, Mr. Graham removed to Boston as Attorney-General to Andr s, the odium of whose government he shared, and on whose downfall he was committed to the castle. He returned to New York in 1691, where his enemies assert that he insinuated himself into the confidence of Leisler and his friends, so as to procure their interest to be chosen member of the Assembly, of which he was afterwards elected Speaker. He became, soon after, the mortal enemy of Leisler and Milborne, of whose murder he is charged, by his adversaries, with being "the principal author." Thomas Newton, Sloughter's Attorney-General, having left the Province in April, 1691, disapproving, probably, of the harsh measures of the government towards the state prisoners, George Farewell was appointed to act in his place; but this appointment not being satisfactory to the Assembly, Mr. Graham became again Attorney-General in the following May. He was about nine years Speaker of the Assembly, i. e., from 1691-1694; 1695-1698, and a part of 1699, when the friends of Leisler being in a majority, the House voted a bill of indictment, in the shape of a remonstrance, against their opponents, and had the cruelty to expect their Speaker to sign it. To enable him to avoid this unpleasant duty, Mr. Graham was called to the Council in May, 1699. His public career may be said to have now closed. He appears to have attended the Council for the last time, on the 29th July, 1700. He was superseded in October, of that year, as Recorder of the city of New York, after having filled the office from 1683, with an interruption of only two years, and was deprived of his office of Attorney-General on the 21st January, 1701, but a few days before his death, which occurred at his residence at Morrisania. His will bears date 12th January, 1700-1, and is on record in the Surrogate's office, New York. He left all his property, share and share alike, to his children, Augustine (Surveyor-General of the Province), Isabella (wife of Lewis Morris, Esq.), Mary, Sarah, Margaret and John. The other members of the family consisted, in 1698, of one overseer, two white servants and thirty-three slaves.—*New York Colonial Documents*, IV, 847. On the 18th July, 1684, a license of Marriage was issued out of the Provincial Secretary's office, New York, for James Graham and Elizabeth Windebauke.—*N. Y. Colonial MSS.*, XXXIII, pt. ii, p. 32. But whether it refers to the Attorney-General whose biography is now sketched, we have no means of ascertaining.

*Note 5, Page 21.*

JOHN WEST had been a resident of New York during Governor Andros' first administration, and is found acting as a lawyer there as early as 1675. In the following year, he received the appointment of deputy clerk of the Mayor's court, and clerk of the Sessions for the North and West Ridings of Yorkshire, and was employed in a legal capacity to assist the commission appointed to examine into the condition of Governor Lovelace's estate. He seems next to have gone back to England, but on returning to New York, is again found enjoying the confidence and patronage of the government, being employed as member of the Court of Admiralty at Nantucket; justice of the peace at Pemaquid, &c. In 1680 he received the appointment of clerk of the Council, Secretary of the Province, clerk to the Court of Assizes, and clerk of the city of New York, but in 1683, he was superseded by James Spragg as Provincial secretary and clerk of the Court of Assizes. The latter tribunal, however, was soon after abolished, but Mr. West retained his city appointment and received also that of clerk of the Sessions. In October, 1684, he married Anne Rudyard, daughter of the Lieutenant-Governor of East Jersey, and in 1685 was commissioned to claim Westfield, Northampton, Deerfield and other towns on the west side of Connecticut river, for the Duke of York. When Sir Edmund Andros, his patron, returned to power in 1686-7, Mr. West accompanied him to Boston; there he farmed from Edward Randolph the office of secretary, in which capacity he extorted what fees he pleased, to the great oppression of the people, and thus aided in rendering the government odious. On the overthrow of that government, West was seized and committed to the castle at Boston. Many of the charges against him are given in the tract entitled "The Revolution of New England Justified." After a protracted confinement, it appears that he was shipped off to England in 1690. Of his subsequent career I have no knowledge; but I apprehend that he did not long survive his downfall. His widow afterwards became the wife of Robert Wharton.—The above details are collected from the *N. Y. Records* in the office of the Secretary of State, Albany; *Byfield's Account of the late Revolution*; *N. Y. Colonial Documents*, III; and *Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts*.

*Note 6, page 21.*

PETER HEYLIN, D. D., was born in Burford, Oxfordshire, on 29th Nov., 1599, and in 1613 entered Hart Hall, Oxford; took the degree of B. A. in 1617, and was chosen Fellow in 1619. Having already given a course of lectures on Cosmography, he composed his *Microcosmus*, which was published in 1621, 4to (*Watts*); 1622 (*Wood*) small 4to. He received holy orders in 1623, and in 1624-5, a second edition of his *Microcosmus* appeared, with augmentations and

corrections. He visited France in 1625, and on his return wrote an account of his journey, which was published some 30 years subsequent to his visit. In 1627, a third edition of the *Microcosmus* was published. In 1629 he was nominated one of the king's chaplains, and in 1631 made rector of Henningford, Huntingdonshire, and a prebend of Westminster. The year following, he obtained the rich living of Houghton in the Spring, which he changed for Ailresford, Hampshire; in 1633 proceeded to D. D., and in 1638, exchanged for South Warnborough, Hants. On the breaking out of the civil war, Dr. Heylin abandoned his rectories and followed the king to Oxford, where he became one of the editors of the Weekly Newspaper, called the *Mercurius Aulicus*, then published on the royal side. In 1643, his property was sequestered by order of the Parliament, and he thus lost his incomparable library. Now he was obliged to shift from place to place to escape his enemies, and finally settled down in Minster Level, where he was forced "to the earning of money by writing books." Here, he prepared the first folio edition of his *Cosmography*, which was published in 1652. He next removed to Abendon, in order to have easier access to libraries, for he found it (he says) as difficult to make books without books, as the Israelites, to make bricks without straw. At length, at the restoration, this worthy old loyalist was restored to his spiritualities. Though the list of Dr. Heylin's works is considerable, he is best known in this country by his "*Cosmographie*." It was the last book that its author wrote with his own hand (in 1651), for after it was finished, his eyes failed him so that he could neither see to write nor read, and was forced to employ an amanuensis. At length, after a life chequered by adversity and prosperity, he paid his last debt to nature on Ascension day, the 8th of May, 1662, and was buried within the choir of St. Peter's Church, Westminster. A copy of the inscription on his monument is in *Hist. and Antiq. Univ. Oxon.*, and a list of his works is in *Wood's Athen. Oxon.* II, 183, *et seq.*

*Note 7, page 21.*

RICHARD NICOLLS was the fourth son of Francis Nicolls, who is described in a pedigree of the family entered in the Heralds' College in 1628, as "of the Middle Temple, one of the Squiers of the Bath to Sir Edward Bruse, and lyeth buried at Ampthill, co. Bedford." His mother was Margaret, daughter of Sir George Bruce of Carnock, Knt., the lineal ancestor of the present Earl of Elgin, and younger brother of Sir Edward Bruce, the favorite servant of James I, and his Master of the Rolls. Richard Nicolls was born in the year 1624, probably at Ampthill, at which place his father was buried in the same year. Ampthill great park was a royal chase, the custody of which was granted, in 1613, by King James I, to Thomas, Lord Bruce, whose son, Robert Bruce, was created in 1664 Viscount Bruce of Ampthill, and Earl of Aylesbury. In the seventeenth

century the Nicollses were for many years lessees of Ampthill Park under the Bruce family, and resided at the Great Lodge, or Capital Mansion, as it is called in the survey of 1649. Here Richard Nicolls passed his boyhood under the charge of his mother, who survived her husband, and remained a widow until her death in 1652. He had two brothers, who survived their father, the one, Edward, ten years, and the other, Francis, five years older than himself. His only sister, Bruce, was thirteen years of age at the time of his birth, and was married shortly after to John Frecheville (son and heir apparent of Sir John Frecheville of Staveley, co. Derby, Knt.), who, in 1664, was created Baron Frecheville of Staveley. She died in 1629, without issue, at the age of eighteen.

The breaking out of the civil war in 1642 found Richard Nicolls at the university, where, if we can accept the testimony of the epitaph on his monument in Ampthill church, he acquired some distinction in his studies. He was not permitted, however, to pursue this career; but in 1643, at the youthful age of eighteen, he was called away to take part in the civil war, which was then actively waging. As might be supposed from his connections, the sympathies and affections of Richard Nicolls were engaged on the royal side. His mother was one of the family—itsself connected with the royal line—which had been caressed and enriched by King James. His uncle, Dr. William Nicolls, a dignitary of the English Church, was indebted to the favor of King Charles for his preferments, having been presented in 1623 to the living of Cheadle in Chester, by Charles, Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester, to whom the presentation had fallen by lapse, and was advanced in 1644 to the Deanery of Chester.

Richard Nicolls joined the royal forces, in which he received the command of a troop of horse. Each of his brothers commanded a company of infantry on the same side, and distinguished himself by his devotion to the royal cause; but the favor which their services gained them was more honorable than advantageous. They shared the exile of the royal family, and following their banished king in his wanderings, Edward, the elder brother, died at Paris, and Francis at the Hague. During the period following the death of King Charles, when the royal family remained in Paris, Richard Nicolls was attached to the service of James, Duke of York, whose attendants, as we learn from Clarendon, shared in a more than ordinary degree in the distresses, and also in the disorder and faction which prevailed in the banished court. In the spring of 1652, the Duke of York obtained the permission of his brother and his council to join the army under the Marshal Turenne, then engaged in the war of the Fronde. Richard Nicolls accompanied him, and had thus an opportunity, to adopt the words of the Cardinal Mazarin in proposing to the queen to send her son to the wars, of "learning his *mestier*, under a general reputed equal to any captain in Christendom." The duke afterwards served upon the other side under Don John of Austria and the Prince de Conde, and we may conjecture that he was followed throughout these campaigns by Nicolls, who, on the re-

turn of the royal family to their country in 1660, was appointed one of the gentlemen of the bedchamber to the duke.

In 1664, war with Holland being then imminent, the king granted to his brother the Duke of York, the country in North America then occupied by the Dutch Settlement of New Netherland. The grant to the Duke of York is dated the 12th of March, 1664, and it comprises Long Island, and "all the land from the west side of Connecticut river to the east side of Delaware bay, and the islands known by the names of Martin's Vineyard or Nantucks, otherwise Nantucket." Part of this tract was conveyed away by the duke to Lord Berkeley of Stratton and George Carteret of Saltrum, co. Devon, by lease and release dated the 22d and 23d of June, 1664, and received the name of New Jersey from its connection with the Carteret family.

Letters patent were issued on the 25th of April, 1664, appointing Colonel Richard Nichols, Sir Robert Carr, Knt., George Cartwright and Samuel Maverick, Esquires, Commissioners, with power for them, or any three or two of them, or the survivors of them, of whom Colonel Richard Nichols, during his life, should be always one, and should have a casting vote, to visit all the colonies and plantations within the tract known as New England, and "to heare and determine all complaints and appeales in all causes and matters, as well military as eriminal and civil, and proceed in all things for the providing for and settleing the peace and security of the said country according to their good and sound discretion, and to such instructions as they or the successors of them have, or shall from time to time receive for us in that behalfe, and from time to time to certify us or our privy council of their actings and proceedings touching the premisses."

The instructions furnished to Colonel Nicolls respecting his proceedings with the Dutch, required him to reduce them to the same obedience with the king's subjects in those parts, without using any other violence than was necessary to those ends; and if necessary, "to use such force as could not be avoided for their reduction, they having no kind of right to hold what they are in possession of in our unquestionable territories, than that they are possessed of by an invasion of Us."

The expedition under Nicolls set sail from Portsmouth in June, 1664. It consisted of four frigates, and about 300 soldiers. Colonel Nicolls, on board the Guyny, arrived at Boston on the 27th July, and required assistance towards reducing the Dutch. The council of the town agreed to furnish 200 men, but the object was effected by Nicolls before this force joined him. On the 20th August, his force being now collected at Long Island, Nicolls summoned the Dutch governor to surrender. Stuyvesant, the governor, would willingly have defended the town, but there was no disposition in the burghers to support him; and a capitulation was signed on 27th by Commissioners on each side, and confirmed by Nicolls. In the course of the next month, Sir Ro-

bert Carr and Col. Cartwright reduced all the remaining Dutch settlements in New Netherland.

Upon the reduction of New Amsterdam, Nicolls assumed the government of the province, now called New York, under the style of "Deputy-Governor under his royal highness the Duke of York, of all his territories in America." The American authorities are generally agreed that his rule, though somewhat arbitrary, was honest and salutary. English forms and methods of government were gradually introduced; and in June, 1665, the scout, burgomasters and schepens of the Dutch municipality were superseded by a mayor, aldermen, and sheriff. His administration lasted three years, and his mode of proceeding is thus summed up by William Smith, the historian of New York: "He erected no courts of justice, but took upon himself the sole decision of all controversies whatever. Complaints came before him by petition; upon which he gave a day to the parties, and after a summary hearing, pronounced judgment. His determinations were called edicts, and executed by the sheriffs he had appointed. It is much to his honor, that, notwithstanding all this plenitude of power, he governed the province with integrity and moderation. A representation from the inhabitants of Long Island to the General Court of Connecticut, made about the time of the Revolution, commends him, as a man of an easy and benevolent disposition; and this is the more to be relied upon, because the design of the writers was, by a detail of their grievances, to induce the colony of Connecticut to take them under its immediate protection." In a letter to the Duke of York, dated November, 1665, Colonel Nicolls thus expresses himself: "My endeavors have not been wanting to put the whole government into one frame and policy, and now the most factious republicans can not but acknowledge themselves fully satisfied with the way and method they are in."

Nicolls returned to England in 1667, and resumed his position in the Duke of York's household. In 1672 war was again proclaimed against the Dutch. The distinction between the land and sea services was not then established, and several landsmen volunteered to serve in the fleet, which was commanded by the Duke of York, the Earl of Sandwich, and the Count D'Estrees. Among these volunteers were several of the Lord High Admiral's household, and among the number Colonel Richard Nicolls. In the engagement which took place at Solebay, on the 28th of May, 1672, in which Lord Sandwich lost his life by the blowing up of the ship which he commanded, Colonel Nicolls, with Sir John Fox, the Captain of the Royal Prince, in which he sailed, and others of the volunteers, was also killed. His age at the time of his death was forty-seven.

Colonel Nicolls left no legitimate issue, and, I believe, was never married. His will, dated the 1st of May, 1672, on board the Royal Prince at the Nore, was proved by his executors, in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury in the following June. He desires to be buried at Ampthill, and alms to be given to

the parishes through which his funeral would pass, and a marble monument to be erected to his memory, with an inscription mentioning his father and mother, his brother William, and his brothers Edward and Francis, the one dead at the Hague, the other at Paris during the late usurpation; and his executors might add what they pleased about his own services in America and elsewhere. He prays his executors to be "earnest solicitors with his Highness for the money due to him."

His executors fulfilled his injunctions by erecting a white marble monument to his memory in the north-east corner of the chancel of Ampthill church, in the upper part of which the cannon ball which caused his death is enclosed, with the words "*Instrumentum mortis et immortalitatis*." The inscription on the monument is as follows:

M. S.

Optimis parentibus nunc tumultu conjunctus  
 Pietate semper conjunctissimus  
 Hic jacet  
 Richardus Nicolls Francisci Istius ex Margar. Bruce  
 filius,  
 Illimo Jacobo Duci Ebor. a Cubiculis intimis;  
 Anno 1643, relictis musarum castris,  
 Turmam equestrem contra rebelles duxit.  
 Juvenis strenuus atque impiger.  
 Anno 1664, ætate jam et scientia militari maturus,  
 In AMERICAM  
 Septentrionalem cum imperio missus  
 Longam I's'lam cœterasque insulas  
 Belgis expulsis vero Domino restituit,  
 Provinciam arcesque munitissimas  
 Heri sui titulis insignivit,  
 Et triennio pro preside rexit  
 Academia Literis  
 Bello Virtute  
 Aula Candore animi  
 Magistratu Prudentia  
 Celebris,  
 ubique bonis charus, sibi et negotiis par.  
 28 Maii 1672  
 nave prætoria contra eosd. Belgas  
 fortiter dimicans,  
 ictu globi majoris transfossus occubuit.  
 Fratres habuit,  
 præter Gulielmum præcoci fato defunctum,  
 Edvardum et Franciscum  
 utrumque copiarum pedestrium centurionem,  
 Qui fœdæ et servilis tyrannidis  
 quæ tunc Angliam oppresserat impatientes,  
 exilio prælato (si modo regem extorrem sequi exil: sit)  
 alter Parisiis, alter Haga comitis,  
 ad cœlestem patriam migrârunt.

Above are the Nicolls arms: Azure, a fess between three lions' heads or; Crest, a tiger sejant.—2 *Notes and Queries*, III, 214; *Nichols's Topographer and Genealogist*, III, 539-544.

*Note 8, page 22.*

Mere discovery of a country, not followed by actual possession, confers no title. This principle of public law was laid down and acted upon by Elizabeth, Queen of England, as far back as 1580, when resisting the exclusive pretensions of Spain to the New World. "As she did not acknowledge the Spaniards to have any title by donation of the Bishop of Rome, so she knew no right they had to any places other than those they were in actual possession of; for their having touched only here and there upon a coast, and given names to a few rivers, or capes, were such insignificant things as could in no ways entitle them to a propriety, farther than in the parts where they actually settled, and continued to inhabit."\* The right derived from the Cabots, which had not even the plea of "having touched here and there on a coast" to support it, thus falling to the ground—for what was good as against Spain for England, must be admitted good also against the latter for the Dutch—the only remaining title in favor of England to this continent rests on the colonization of Virginia. This did not extend farther north than the Chesapeake or James river. Actual settlement and continual habitation, which Queen Elizabeth laid down as necessary to make out a title, were, therefore, wanting to establish the English right to the country first discovered and now actually possessed by the Dutch. To call these "intruders," was, in the words of Louis XIV, "a species of mockery;" they had as good a right to reclaim the American wilderness as any other European power, and so long as they could show all the prerequisites insisted on by England in 1580 to establish a title, theirs must be considered unobjectionable. This view of the case is only strengthened by an examination of the New England patent, granted by James I to the Plymouth Company. This charter conveyed all the country from forty to forty-eight degrees of north latitude, with this express reservation, however: "Provided, always, that the said islands, or any of the said premises hereinbefore mentioned, . . . be not actually possessed or inhabited by any other Christian Prince or Estate." The Dutch had actual possession of New Netherland many years before the issue of this patent, and the reservation in favor of the rights of others which that document contains, was a full and perfect acknowledgment of the soundness of their title.†—*O'Callaghan's History of New Netherland*, II, 343-4.

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\* Camden, *Rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum Annales*, regnante Elizabetha, 8vo. Leyden, 1689, p. 328. "Proscriptio sine possessione haud valet," was the principle laid down in this case.

† See Patent in Hazard, I, 111. Consult further, "A State and Representation of the Bounds of the Province of New York against the claim of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay," &c., in the Journals of the New York Prov. Assembly; also, *Lettres du Comte d'Estradee*, Lond. 8vo. 1748, III, 340, for the letter of the King of France, in which he states that after examination of both sides of the question, the right of the Dutch to the country is, in his estimation, the best established—"le mieux fondé."



*Note 9, page 22.*

SEBASTIAN CABOT, an eminent navigator, was the son of John Cabot, a Venetian. The place of his birth has been a subject for some difference of opinion; some claiming the honor for Venice; others, for Bristol, England. In 1497, when about twenty years of age, he accompanied his father in the voyage in which the continent of the New World was discovered. In the year 1498, he made another voyage to this continent, which he reached somewhere between the 55th and 67th degrees of latitude, when he sailed south and returned home. About the year 1517 he sailed on another voyage of discovery, and went to the Brazils, and thence to Hispaniola and Porto Rico. Failing in his object of finding a way to the East Indies, he returned to England. Having been invited to Spain, where he was received in the most respectful manner by King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella, he made a voyage of discovery in April, 1525; visited the coast of Brazil, and entered a great river, to which he gave the name of Rio de la Plata. He sailed up this river one hundred and twenty leagues. After being absent on this expedition a number of years, he returned to Spain in the spring of 1531. He made other voyages, of which no particular memorials remain. His residence was at the city of Seville. His employment as Chief Pilot was the drawing of charts, on which he delineated all the new discoveries made by himself and others; and, by his office, he was entrusted with the reviewing of all projects for discovery. His character is said to have been gentle, friendly, and social, though in his voyages some instances of injustice towards the natives and of severity towards his mariners, are recorded. In his advanced age he returned to England; received a pension from Edward VI, and was appointed governor of a company of merchants, associated for the purpose of making discoveries. He had a strong persuasion that a passage might be found to China by the northeast. By his means a trade was commenced with Russia, which gave rise to the Russian company. The last account of him is, that in 1556, when the company were sending out a vessel for discovery, he made a visit on board. "The good old gentleman, master Cabota," says the journal of the voyage in Hakluyt, "gave to the poor most liberal alms, wishing them to pray for the good fortune and prosperous success of our pinnace. And then at the sign of St. Christopher, he and his friends banqueted, and for very joy, that he had to see the towardness of our intended discovery, he entered into the dance himself among the rest of the young and lusty company; which being ended, he and his friends departed, most gently commending us to the governance of Almighty God." He died shortly afterwards, at the age of 80 years, but the place where he was buried is not known. He was one of the most extraordinary men of the age in which he lived. There is preserved in Hakluyt a complete set of instructions, drawn and signed by Cabot, for the direction of the voyage to Cathay in

China, which affords the clearest proof of his sagacity. It is supposed that he was the first who noticed the variations of the magnetic needle. He published also a large map, which was engraved by Clement Adams, and hung up in the gallery at Whitehall; and on this map was inscribed a Latin account of the discovery of Newfoundland.—*Belknap's Amer. Biog.*, I, 149–158; *Mass. Mag.*, II, 467–471; *Hakluyt*, I, 226, 268, 274; *Campbell's Admirals*, I, 419; *Rees' Cyclopaedia*; *Petri Martyr. De Novo Orbe*, Paris, 1587, pp. 232, 589; *Bancroft's Hist. U. States*, I, 7–14; 2 *Notes and Queries*, V, 1, 154, 193, 263, 285.

*Note 10, page 22.*

SIR JOHN VAUGHAN, Kt., was born in Cardiganshire in 1608, and educated at Worcester school and at Christchurch, Oxford, whence he removed to the Inner Temple, where he contracted an intimacy with Selden, who made him one of his executors. During the Rebellion, he led a retired life, but at the Restoration was elected to Parliament for Cardiganshire. In 1668, he became Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and died in 1674. His reports and arguments were published in 1677, by his son, Edward Vaughan, Esq., in 1 vol. folio.

*Note 11, page 22.*

The precise Latitude of the City Hall, New York, is 40 deg., 42 min., 43 sec.; Longitude west from Greenwich Observatory, 74 deg., 3 sec. See *Map B*, No. 2, *Hudson River* (lower sheet); accompanying *Report of the U. S. Coast Survey during the year 1855*. Washington: Nicholson. 1856.

*Note 12, page 22.*

RICHARD NORWOOD is principally famous for having been one of the first who measured a degree of the Meridian. He wrote Trigonometry, or Doctrine of Triangles; Fortification; the Seaman's Practice; Epitome and Logarithmic Tables; also, Letters and Papers in the Philosophical Transactions on the Tides and on the Whale Fishery.

ANDREW NORWOOD his son had been a resident of the West Indies, and communicated to the Royal Society, in 1668, "Observations in Jamaica." He seems to have immigrated to New York before the assumption of the government by Sir Edmund Andros; for, in March, 1672, an order was issued to lay out two towns or townships on Staten Island, and in September following he received a grant of one hundred and fifty acres of land on the shore of Staten Island, near the present Quarantine ground. On the 29th of September, 1676, this grant was increased by Governor Andros to three hundred and ninety-seven acres. In September, 1677, he received an additional grant of twenty-five acres, making his farm four hundred and twenty acres in all.—*N. Y. Patents*. In 1677 he was appointed surveyor of that locality, as appears by the following

*Commission for Mr. Andrew Norwood to be Surveyor for Staten Island.*

By the Governor.

These are to authorize and Appoint you Mr. Andrew Norwood to be Surveyor of Staten Island, where you are to Survey and lay out such Lotts or Parcels of land, as you shall be employed about, of which to make due returns according to Law, And in all matters relating thereunto to behave yourself according to the duty and place of Surveyor. Given under my hand in New Yorke, this 12th day of November, 1677.

E. ANDROS. S.

*N. Y. Warrants, Orders, Passes, &c., 1674-1678, XXXII, 291.*

It appears that Mr. Norwood returned to, and died in, the West Indies; for, I find that his will, dated 24th of April, 1684, was admitted to probate in the island of St. Christopher. In virtue of this will, the above mentioned property on Staten Island, came into the possession of his son, Henry Norwood of Jamaica, who sold it in 1697, to Antony Bigg of Port Royal, for the sum of £300 Jamaica currency. Biggs sold the property to John Stout of the same place, in 1698, for an advance of about £10.—*N. Y. Deed Book, IX, 584.* This transaction will, when compared with present prices, afford an opportunity of forming an idea of the advance in value of real estate on Staten Island.

*Note 13, page 22.*

PHILIP WELLS. The earliest notice that I can find of this gentleman is in the year 1675, when he was authorized to receive the county rates in the absence of Sheriff Salisbury, who had gone to England. Hence it is inferred, that he came to New York in 1674 with Governor Andros, whose "Steward" he is said to have been. In 1676, he was appointed receiver of the debts due to the late Dutch West India Company, and is next called "Commissary to the Garrison of Fort James at New York," in which capacity he is empowered to draw from the collector of that city such duties as that officer might receive, in order to support the garrison and pay other expenses of government. On the 26th Nov., 1680, Mr. Wells was appointed Surveyor. He became, in 1684, Surveyor-General of the Province and held that office until 1687. He was one of the commissioners who ran the boundary line between Connecticut and New York in 1684, and being a landed proprietor on Staten Island, is found in the commission of the peace for the county of Richmond in 1685. In 1686, he was appointed surveyor on the part of New York, to determine, with similar functionaries on the behalf of East and West Jersey, the most northerly branch of the Delaware river, and to run a line between these three provinces. No line, however, was actually run. The instructions to "Philip Wells, Esq., Surveyor-General of His Majesty's Province of New York," are in *N. Y. Council Minutes, V.* It was on the occasion of this commission, we presume, that he observed the declination of the magnetic needle, as mentioned by Kalm in his notice of

New York. On quitting the office of Surveyor-General, Mr. Wells retired to Staten Island, where we find him residing in 1694.—*N. Y. State Records*.

*Note 14, page 23.*

SIR HENRY WOTTON was born at Bocton Hall, Kent, and educated at Winchester and Oxford. He subsequently became secretary to the Earl of Essex, but on the fall of that nobleman, retired to the continent. He returned to England on the accession of James I, by whom he was knighted, and sent Ambassador to Venice, and several other courts. He was afterwards appointed Provost of Eton, took holy orders, and died in 1639. These words are engraved on his tomb: *Hic jacet hujus sententiæ primus auctor: Disputandi pruritus, ecclesiæ scabies. Nomen alias quære.* He wrote, *The State of Christendom; Elements of Architecture; Parallels between Essex and Buckingham; Characters of some of the Kings of England; Essays on Education; Poems*, printed in the *Reliquiæ Wottoniæ*; *Two Apologies relating to his Album Aphorism: An Ambassador is an honest man sent to lie abroad for the good of his country.* Some of his religious poems are exquisitely beautiful; that written *On a Bed of Sickness*, has never been surpassed.—*Rose.* Sir Dudley Carleton gave him the soubriquet of *Fabritio*.—2 *Notes and Queries*, VII, 375.

*Note 15, page 24.*

GEORGE HAKEWELL, D. D., was born in Exeter, England, in 1578, and received the rudiments of his education in that city. He entered Oxford as a commoner in 1595, and in two years after was elected a Fellow of Exeter college. Having received holy orders he traveled on the continent of Europe, and in 1610, received his divinity degree. In 1611, he was appointed chaplain to Prince Charles, and archdeacon of Surrey in 1616. He subsequently opposed the marriage of the Infanta of Spain with the Prince, in consequence of which he was dismissed from his chaplaincy in 1621. He afterwards was appointed rector of Heanton, Devonshire, and in 1641 was elected rector of Exeter college. On the civil war breaking out, he gave in his submission to parliament, and spent the remainder of his days in retirement at Heanton, where he died in the beginning of April, 1649. His remains were deposited in the chancel of his church, and over his grave a stone was laid with this Inscription: *Reliquiæ Georgii Hakewell, S. Th. D. Archidiaconi Surriæ, collegii Exoniensis et hujus Ecclesiæ Rectoris, in spem resurrectionis hic repositæ sunt, An. 1649. ætatis suæ 72.* A list of his works is in *Wood's Athenæ Oxon.*, II, 66. The most important of his writings is: *An Apology or Declaration of the Power and Providence of God in the Government of the World*, 1627, folio. The learning exhibited in this work is very extensive.—*Rose, Biog. Dict.*, VIII, 174.

*Note 16, page 27.*

WILLIAM ASHFORDBY is supposed to have come to this country in 1664. In 1676 he obtained a patent for one hundred and eight acres of land in Marbletown (Ulster co.), in the neighborhood of "the Indian graves." On the 21st of December, 1684, he was appointed High Sheriff of Ulster county, and obtained a further grant of eighty-seven acres and a half of land (in the rear of the tract first above mentioned. Yet with all this, whether through want of thrift or of industry, Mr. Ashfordby did not prosper. He became considerably indebted; had to mortgage his property, and in 1687, the High Sheriff of Ulster county "went for England," leaving behind him his debts and a wife and family. In August, 1695, a petition was presented to the Governor and Council of New York, from his wife Martha, in behalf of herself and five children, John Bettis and Susannah his wife, Mary, Helen, Ann, and Catherine Ashfordby, setting forth the fact of his absconding, and praying a grant of the last mentioned tract, for herself and children. She received a patent accordingly. Mr. Ashfordby having left no male issue, the name has become extinct in Ulster co.—*N. Y. Patents*, IV, 51, VI, 539; *N. Y. Col. MSS.*, XXX, 61, XXXI, iii, 83, XL, 56; *Council Minutes*, VII, 153.

*Note 17, page 27.*

SOPEZ, or Esopus, lies on the west side of the Hudson river, 90 miles north of the city of New York. The name belonged originally to the river which discharges into the Hudson at this point, and is a modification of the Algonquin word *Sipous*, the literal signification of which, is "River." The first Dutch adventurers traded with the Indians here as early as 1614, and though that trade was carried on continuously afterwards, there is no evidence of any improvement having been made thereabouts before 1652-3. The neglect of the government to extinguish the Indian title to the land before parcelling it out to actual settlers, led to two wars with the Aborigines, and greatly retarded the advancement of the place, which was not erected into a municipality until 1661, when the district went by the Dutch name of *Wiltwyck*, or Indianville. Governor Lovelace, however, was the chief promoter of the settlement of the Esopus. For, orders having been given to disband the soldiers who had accompanied Colonel Nicolls to this country, gratuitous grants of land were made to them in 1668, and two new towns planted. On the 18th September, 1669, by the governor's orders, one was called "Marbleton" and the other "Hurley;" the latter, after the seat of the Lovelace family in Berkshire, England. On the 25th of the same month, *Wiltwyck*, or "the towne formerly called Sopez, was named KINGSTON;" some suppose out of respect to the king; others, however, are of opinion that the name was borrowed from that of Kingston L'Isle, Berk-

shire, the seat of the first Lady Lovelace's family. When the Dutch recovered the country in 1673, the name of Kingston was changed to *Swaenenburgh*, and so continued until the English returned under Governor Andros, in 1674. The district was organized into a distinct county in 1683, by an act of the Provincial Legislature, and was called Ulster, to commemorate the Irish title of the Duke of York, who was Earl of Ulster in the peerage of Ireland.—*O'Callaghan's Hist. New Netherland*; *N. Y. Colonial MSS.*, XXII, 99; *Laws of New York*; see Note 16 *supra*.

*Note 18, page 27.*

WILLIAM HARVEY, M. D., famous for his discovery of the Circulation of the Blood, was born in Folkestone, Kent, 2d April, 1578. Having finished his education at Cambridge, he passed through several celebrated medical schools on the continent, took his degree in 1602, and commenced practice in London, where he made his great discovery about the year 1619. He afterwards became physician to James I and Charles I. On the breaking out of the civil war he retired to Richmond, and in 1651 appeared his second immortal work: *Exercitationes de Generatione Animalium*. 4to. This great man died 3d July, 1658, in the 80th year of his age. A monument has been erected to his memory at Hempstead in Essex. A splendid quarto edition of all his works was published by the College of Physicians in 1766, to which a life of the author is prefixed.—*Rose*.

*Note 19, page 27.*

GEORGE CAREW, was the son of the dean of Exeter and Windsor, of the same name. Adopting the profession of arms, he was in the expedition to Cadiz, in 1588-9, and afterwards served with great reputation in Ireland, where he was made President of Munster, when, uniting his forces with those of the Earl of Thomond, he reduced several castles and strong places, and obtained many triumphs. He was likewise a privy councillor in that kingdom. Upon the accession of James I, he was constituted lieutenant-general of the ordnance, and governor of the Isle of Guernsey, and having married Joyce, only daughter and heiress of William Clopton, Esq., of Clopton in the county of Warwick, was elevated to the peerage, on the 4th June, 1605, as Baron Carew. He was made master-general of the ordnance in 1609, and sworn of the privy council, and in 1625 created Earl of Totness. "Besides," says Dugdale, "these his noble employments, 'tis not a little observable, that, being a great lover of antiquities, he wrote an historical account of all those memorable passages, which hapned in Ireland, during the term of those three years, he continued there, intituled *Hibernia Pacata*, printed at London, in 1633, and that he made an ample collection of many chronological and choice observations, as also of

divers exact maps, relating to sundry parts of that realm, some whereof are now in the public library at Oxford, but most of them in the hands of Sir Robert Shirley, Bart., of Stanton Harold, in the county of Leicester, bought of his executors." His lordship died 27th March, 1629, at the Savoy in the Strand, "in the suburbs of London," leaving an only daughter and heiress.—*Burke; Beatson.*

*Note 20, page 28.*

CHARLES BLOUNT, eighth Baron Mountjoy of Thurveston, in the county of Derby, succeeded to the title on the death of his brother in 1594. This nobleman, when a commoner, being a person of high military reputation, had a command in the fleet which defeated the famous Spanish Armada, and a few years afterwards succeeded the Earl of Sussex in the governorship of Portsmouth. In 1597, his lordship was constituted Lieutenant of Ireland; and in two years afterwards repulsed the Spaniards, with great gallantry, at Kinsale. Upon the accession of James I, he was reinvested with the same important office, and created, by letters patent, dated 21st July, 1603, Earl of Devonshire, being made at the same time a Knight of the most noble order of the Garter. The high public character of the earl was, however, considerably tarnished by one act of his private life, the seduction of Penelope, sister of the Earl of Essex, and wife of Robert, Lord Rich. By this lady he had several children; and upon his return from Ireland, finding her divorced from her husband, he married her, at Wanstead in Essex, on the 26th of December, 1605, the ceremony being performed by his chaplain, William Laud, afterward Archbishop of Canterbury. Camden says, that this nobleman was so eminent for valor and learning, that in those respects, "he had no superior, and but few equals," and his secretary Moryson, writes, "that he was beautiful in person as well as valiant; and learned as well as wise." His lordship died on the 3d April, 1606, and leaving no legitimate issue, all his honors became extinct.—*Burke, Ext. and Dorm. Peerage.*

*Note 21, Page 29.*

ABERGINIANS. The several scattered tribes from the Pockanockets of Plymouth colony to the Piscataqua river, were called Northern Indians, and by some Aberginians.—*Hutchinson's Mass.*, I, 407. The name enters into Mr. Gallatin's vocabulary as an Indian word (*Synopsis of Indian Tribes*, 312), but it seems to be rather a corruption of Aborigines.

*Note 22, page 30.*

WILLIAM CAMDEN, a learned antiquary, was born in the Old Bailey, London, on the 2d May, 1551. He received the first rudiments of knowledge at Christchurch Hospital, and was afterwards sent to Dr. Colet's free school, near St.

Paul's. In 1566, he was sent to the university at Oxford, where he remained until 1571, when he returned to London. In 1575 he obtained the place of second master of Westminster school. He now devoted himself to his favorite studies, and in 1582 brought out his *Britannia : sive Regnorum Angliæ, Scotiæ, Hiberniæ, and Insularum adjacentium Descriptio*; 8vo.; Maps. In 1593, he was made head master of Westminster school, and published a Greek Grammar in 1597. The first part of the Annals of Queen Elizabeth appeared in 1615, under this title—*Rerum Anglicarum and Hibernicarum Annales regnante Elizabetha*; the second half followed in 1627, after the author's death; both were published in London in folio. After passing through several editions, this work was translated into English and printed also in folio. After a life of great literary industry and labor, he paid his last debt to nature at Chiselhurst, Kent, on the 9th November, 1623. His remains were interred in Westminster Abbey, where a monument, with a suitable inscription, was erected to his memory. A full list of Camden's works will be found in *Wood's Athen. Oxon.* I, 412.

*Note 23, page 30.*

STEPHEN SKINNER, M. D., was born in or near London in 1623, and entered Christ church, Oxon, in 1638, but before he could obtain a degree, the rebellion broke out, so that he was obliged to resort to the continent to continue his studies. In 1646, he returned to Oxford and took both the degrees in arts, and subsequently received the degree of Doctor of Medicine from the university of Heidelberg, and was admitted *ad eundem* by the university at Oxford, in 1664, in which year he settled at Lincoln, where he practised his profession. He died in that city on the 5th September, 1667, and was buried in the cathedral. His works were published in one folio volume at London, in 1671, with this title: *Etymologicon linguæ Anglicanæ*, under the care and superintendence of Mr. Thomas Henshaw, a learned critic.—*Wood's Athen. Oxon.* II, 287.

*Note 24, page 33.*

For an interesting account of Indian currency, the reader is referred to Denton's Brief Description of New York : formerly called New Netherland. New York : Gowans, 1845. 8vo p. 42.

*Note 25, page 34.*

THE following clippings from newspapers, show the prices of Negro slaves in this country in 1859 :

SALE OF NEGROES—HIGH PRICES.—Twenty-eight negroes were sold on Tuesday last, at McDonough, in Henry county, Va. The aggregate amount of the



sales was \$22,309, being an average of \$796. We select the following from the list, as an evidence of the high prices paid: One boy, field hand, 18 years old, \$1,640; three boys, 14 years old—one \$1,440, one \$1,282, another \$1,207; two boys, 10 years old—one \$902, the other \$806; one 7 years old, \$726, one woman, 23 years old, with three boys—one 5 years, one 3 years, and one 8 months, \$1,995; one woman, 23 years old, with two children—a boy 3 years, a girl 18 months old, \$2,305; seven girls sold at the following prices—one 19 years old, \$1,200; one 15 years, \$1,023; one 16 years, \$1,100; one 12 years, \$400; one 7 years, \$705; one 7 years, \$778.—*Atlanta American*.

Prices at Richmond, July 25: No. 1 men, 20 to 26 years old, from \$1,450 to \$1,500; best grown girls, 17 to 20 years old, from \$1,275 to \$1,325; girls from 15 to 17 years old, \$1,150 to \$1,250; girls from 12 to 15 years old, \$1,000 to \$1,100; best plough boys, 17 to 20 years old, \$1,350 to \$1,425; boys from 15 to 17 years old, \$1,250 to \$1,375; boys from 12 to 15 years old, \$1,100 to \$1,200.

PRICE OF SLAVES IN MISSOURI.—At a sale of slaves that took place last Monday, says the *St. Louis Republican* of the 20th inst., at Bowling Green in this state, the following prices were obtained: Negro man, 50 years old, \$845; do., 55, \$795; negro woman, 60, \$195; do., 40, 801; negro girl, 13, \$1,187; do., 10, \$900; do., 6, \$535.

*Note 26, page 36.*

ADAM DE MARISCO, a native of Somerset, England, was a Franciscan monk and a doctor at Oxford, and acquired such a great reputation in the thirteenth century, by his learning, as to be surnamed *Doctor Illustratus*. In Italy, he was on intimate terms with and greatly esteemed by, St Anthony of Padua, and in England much thought of by Robert Greathead, bishop of Lincoln, 1235–1254. He was named bishop of Ely circa 1256, but declined the dignity on learning that the pope had already nominated Hugh de Balsham to that see. He wrote on *The Song of Songs*; *Questions of Theology*; *Paraphrases on St. Denis, the Areopagite*; and died in, or about the year 1257.—*Moreri, Grand Dict. Hist.*; *Luisicius, Algem. Wordenboek*.

*Note 27, page 36.*

TAMAHICAN is a word common to most of the Algonquin dialects. Its root may perhaps be found in the verb *ehouen*, to strike, or knock.—*Mithridates*, III, iii, 354. "Tomahawk" is the Indian word anglicized.

*Note 28, Page 36.*

HENRY SOMERSET, 1st Marquis of Worcester, was the son of Edward, 4th Earl of Somerset, to whose honors he succeeded in 1628. He was a nobleman of great piety and parts, and one of the richest of the English peers. He spent

his fortune in the service of Charles I, for whom he defended the castle of Ragland against the rebels till the conclusion of the war, when it was surrendered on terms (August, 1646), which, however, were basely violated, and his lordship died a prisoner, in December of the same year. The Marquis of Worcester had early embraced the Catholic faith, and there appeared after his death, "Certamen Religiosum, or a Conference between King Charles I. and Henry late Marquis of Worcester, concerning religion;" "The Golden Apothegms of King Charles I. and Henry Marquis of Worcester." He was father of Edward, 2d Marquis of Worcester, famous for his connection with the discovery of the Power of Steam, and How to Sail against Wind and Tide, which Horace Walpole enumerates among "the amazing pieces of folly."—*Noble Authors*, p. 371, 378.

*Note 29, page 37.*

KINTAUKAUNS. Much ignorance prevails regarding the Indian *Kintacaws*. Some esteem them to have been debauched revels or bacchanalia, and hold them in horror, supposing them to be something akin to devil worship. Those who had the curiosity to investigate the matter, have given such accounts of the conduct of the Indians, on these occasions, as naturally lead to the conclusion that they paid a joint homage and supplication to some invisible being. The word is derived from the Delaware *Gentekehen*, to dance; and here it is supposed lies the key of the mystery. The Indians, it is well known, accompanied, if not celebrated, all their public acts or events by dances. Van der Donck, writing on the subject of the amusements of those people, says: "The old and middle aged conclude with smoking, and the young with a *kintecaw*." It was not restricted to any particular season of the year. During the Esopus war there was a *kintecaw* at the *Danskamer*, above Newburgh, in the month of August, "so that the woods rang again;" in another instance an Indian desired to be permitted to dance the *kintecaw*, before being put to death; and another having been led out to the place of execution, "danced the *kintekaye* all the way thither." The "*Kintacaw*," thus appears to have been simply a dance, which, however, received its character from the occasion on which it took place. It was a calumet *kintecaw* on concluding a peace or a treaty; a bear *kintecaw*, at the conclusion of a successful hunt of that animal; a war *kintecaw*, on the organization of an expedition against an enemy; and a death *kintecaw*, when the victim was led bleeding yet dancing to the stake.—*N. Y. Documentary History*, 8vo, IV, 63, 106; *Smith's History of New York*, Alb. ed., 76. See further, *Denton's Description of New York* (Gowans' ed.), p. 11, and *Carver's Travels*, London, 1778, p. 266, for particulars respecting the dances of the Indians.

*Note 30, page 38.*

**KAKINDOWET**—a Minister : from *Kakindowinin*, to teach, or preach to several persons.

*Note 31, page 39.*

This is a corruption of *Jubartes*, one of the names given to the humpbacked whales. Anderson, in his account of Iceland, gives it as *Jupiter fish*, and this has been erroneously supposed to be the derivation of the term. David Crantz, in his history of Greenland, furnishes the clue to its name, when he says of the Jupiter fish, that the "*Spanish whalers call it Gubartas, from an excrescence near the tail.*" Lacepede and Cuvier describe the gibbar and the *Jubarte*. Cuvier especially says that these names are given to them by the Basques. Now, *Jorobado* in Spanish means humpback, and its root is evidently the Latin *gibbus*.

The Basque whalers were the first to pursue the whale to its northern haunts, and in the beginning of the seventeenth century, when the Dutch and English took up the whaling business, the Basques were their instructors. This will account for the adoption of the word *jubarte* into the English and Dutch languages. See *Histoire des Peches*, vol. 1. Kline and other naturalists give the coast of New England as its peculiar resort, and John Edward Gray, in his excellent catalogue of cetacea in the British Museum, gives the *Megaptera Americana*, or Bermuda humpback, which reaches a length of 88 feet, as the probable *Jubartes* of whalers.—*N. Y. Historical Magazine*, III, 52-3.

*Note 32, page 40.*

Sir THOMAS BROWNE, Kt., was born in London, 19th November, 1605. Having been educated near Winchester, he entered Pembroke college, Oxford, in the beginning of the year 1623, and having taken his degree in arts, proceeded to Leyden, where he was made Doctor of Medicine. He settled at Norwich, where he practised his profession for many years. His famous work, *Religio Medici*, was published in 1642. This was followed by *Pseud. Epidem. Enquiries into very many received Tenents and commonly presumed Truths, or Enquiries into Common and Vulgar Errours*; London, 1646; small folio. This work, which is still popular, has gone through many editions. *Nature's Cabinet Unlocked*; *Urn Burial*; the *Garden of Cyrus*, and a volume of *Miscellanies*, are also by the same author, who received the honor of knighthood in 1671, and died at Norwich in the year 1682. He was interred in St. Peter's church, where a monument was erected to his memory. A copy of the inscription on his monument is in *Wood's Athen. Oxon.* II, 536.

*Note 33, page 41.*

JOHN ROBINSON was a merchant of New York as early as 1676, where he married Gritie, widow of Cornelis Dircksen. In 1678 he hired a dwelling house on the east side of the city "towards the fortification near the water portt," and purchased, in November, 1679, for £120, the Shottwell farm containing 38½ acres of land. This farm was situate on the east side of the city, and was bounded on the S. W. by the land of John Bassett, and on the N. W. by John Young's land. It included a run of water called Saw-mill creek, and a leather mill which Shottwell had erected thereupon, also a pond of water ranging N. E. unto the woods 120 rods. On the first of January, 1680, Mr. Robinson sold one-half the Shottwell farm, mill and water privileges, to John Lewin and Robert Woolley, merchants of London, for the sum of £60, and the property passed subsequently into the hands of William Coxe, Robinson's partner in trade.—*N. Y. Book of Deeds*, V, 113, VI, 208, 414. Mr. Valentine's impression is, that this farm was on the west side of Pearl, and north of Pine street. Mr. William J. Davis, another well known antiquary of New York, adds: "In Common Council in 1680, a resolution was passed that the water lots between John Robinson's and William Beeckman's lands along the Smith's valley be sold at auction to pay some public assessments. (The Smith's valley extended from Cedar nearly to Beekman street.) The Damen farm adjoined Wall street on the north; next to which was Mrs. Tysen's, and John Robinson's land probably joined her's. Hence, I think it evident that the 'Orchard,' extended from about Cedar street to Maiden lane." Thereabouts, probably, in the heart of the Second ward of the city, was the scene of the Bear hunt referred to by Mr. Woolley. New York is still famous for hunting *Bears*, but the amusement has been transferred to a locality further to the south, and known by the name of Wall street. In the same vicinity the first Methodist church in the city was erected, and thereabouts, too, the late Washington Irving, whose death a nation still mourns, first saw the light of day.

Mr. Robinson was alderman for the West ward in 1683, 1684 and 1685, but did not de cease in New York. Dirck van der Cliff, Robinson's brother in law, owned, east of the Shottwell farm, an orchard through which a street was afterwards run, and called Cliff street, after the said Dirck van der Cliff.

*Note 34, page 42.*

ELIZABETH, daughter and coheir of Sir Robert Christopher, Knt., of Alford in Lincolnshire, married Bennett, second Lord Sherard on the Irish peerage, by whom she had one son and two daughters. One of these married Edward, Lord Viscount Irwin, and the other, the Duke of Rutland. She lost her hus-

band in the year 1700. Her son Bennett succeeded to the title that year, and was created Lord Harborough in 1714, and Earl of Harborough in 1719. His lordship married Mary, daughter of Sir Henry Calverly.

*Note 35, page 45.*

ME-TA-OW. Bishop Baraga, in his *Dictionary of the Ojibwe Language*, says, *Midew* means an Indian of the order of the Grand Medicine, *Midewiwin* being the name of that order. And in the Rev. Mr. Dougherty's *Chippewa Primer*, p. 41, *Mctawa* means—he dances (at a feast). As part of the Indian cure consists of the dancing of the physician, perhaps the root of the Indian word in the text may be thus arrived at.

*Note 36, Page 47.*

Captain JOHN MANNING came to New York with Governor Nicolls in 1664, and in September of that year accompanied Colonel Cartwright in his expedition for the reduction of Fort Orange, where he attended and was a witness to the first treaty which the English concluded with the Five Nations.—*N. Y. Gen. Ent.*, I, 42. After the surrender of the place he was left in charge of the fort (*Ibid.* 45). In 1667, he was appointed Sheriff of the city of New York (*Ord. War. and Letters*. II, 177, 188), and held that office until 1672 inclusive. In 1669 he was named a member of the commission sent the same year to the Esopus, to regulate the affairs of that district (*Ibid.*; *Council Min.*, III, 12, 434, 530, 535); also, justice for the West Riding of Yorkshire, and acted as high Sheriff of Yorkshire from 1671 to 1673.—*Gen. Ent.*, IV, 201. During the administration of Colonel Lovelace, he seems to have been high in the confidence of that governor, of whose council he was a member, and who, whenever called by business to any distance from the city, always left Fort James and the public peace in charge of Captain Manning (see *Instruc.*, *ibid.*, 243). It was whilst charged with these duties in 1671, that an express arrived from Albany at New York with the fearful news of the approach of the French. Manning forthwith dispatched an express to Governor Lovelace, who was at Staten Island. Instead of approving his officer's activity, the latter was snubbed by the governor for his "impatience."—*Court of Assize Record*, 732. Whether discouraged by this reception or, as he himself admits, hopeless of making any effectual defence, he made no resistance when the wolf came actually, in 1673, in the shape of the Dutch, but unconditionally surrendered the country to them, and went back to England, where he arrived in January, 1674, his wife having died on the passage. He immediately waited on the King and the Duke of York and the principal officers of state, on which occasion the King gave it as his opinion that Fort James was not tenable. Captain Manning returned to New York in the Diamond frigate with Governor

Andros in 1674, and soon after was tried by court martial on charges of treachery and cowardice. He was acquitted of treachery, but found guilty of every other charge, and on 5th February, 1675, sentenced "to be carried back to prison and from thence brought out to the publick place before the City Hall, there to have his sword broken over his head, and from that time be rendered incapable of wearing a Sword or serving his Majesty in any publick employ or place of benefit and Trust within the Government."—*N. Y. Doc. Hist.*, 8vo, III, 80–100; *N. Y. Council Min.*, III, ii, 24. Thereupon he retired to his Island, where, according to Mr. Wooley's account, he does not seem to have permitted his disgrace to disturb his philosophy.

*Manning's Island* was called Minnahanock by the Indians;\* Varken (or Hog) Island by the Dutch; it had been purchased originally by Governor Van Twiller in 1637, and granted in 1651 to Captain Francis Fyn, who figures in a lampoon against Governor Stuyvesant about that time (*O'Callaghan's New Netherland*, II, 181, 581). On the breaking out of the war against the Dutch in 1666, it was confiscated. On the 8th February, 1668, it was granted to Captain Manning, whereupon it passed by the name of "Manning's Island." On the 1st of August following, Captain Manning executed a deed conveying the island to Matthias Nicolls, *in trust*, for the use of the said Manning during his life, and after his decease for the use of his wife, if she should survive him, and after their decease, entailing it on Mary Manningham, daughter of Mrs. Manning by a former husband, and the heirs of her body, and for want of such heirs, after her death, to her brother Henry Manningham and his heirs.—*N. Y. Patents*, I, 99, 146. In 1676 (the year after Captain Manning was "broke"), the above named Mary Manningham married Robert Blackwell, "late of Elizabethtown, in New Jersey, merchant" (*N. Y. Deed Book*, I, 130); the property in consequence was, after Captain Manning's death, called "*Blackwell's Island*," which name it bears at present. It is now the property of the city of New York, and is occupied by a Penitentiary, Alms House, Lunatic Asylum, Hospital, and similar institutions. It contains 120 acres, and cost the city of New York \$50,000. The date of Captain Manning's death is not ascertained. He seems, however, to have been alive in 1686, when there was some difficulty between him and Mrs. Blackwell respecting the island, and she entered a caveat against the issuing of any patent to him for it, for a longer term than his life.

*Note 37, page 48.*

HENRY HAMMOND, D. D., was born on 26th August, 1605, in Surrey, England. His father was physician to the Prince Henry, son of James I, after whom he was called. Having gone through his studies at Eton and Oxford, he devoted

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\* Minnahanock is derived from the Mohegan word *Minauhan*, an island, and *uck*, a termination signifying locality, and means literally, "At the Island."

himself to the study of theology, and received holy orders in 1629, and in 1633 was appointed rector of Penhurst, Kent. In 1643, he was made archdeacon of Chichester, but on the breaking out of the civil war, he became obnoxious to the party in the ascendant, on account of his attachment to his sovereign, and was obliged to remain concealed for several years, during which he composed various works in English and Latin; these were afterwards published in London, 4 vols. folio. His principal works are: Practical Catechism, or Abridgment of Christian Morals; Notes on the New Testament and on the Psalms. M. le Clerc wrote a criticism on some of these notes. When Charles II. was about to be recalled, Dr. Hammond was placed in charge of the diocese of Worcester, of which see he, without doubt, would have been appointed bishop, had he lived; but his life was unfortunately cut short on the 25th April, 1660, in the 55th year of his age.

*Note 38, page 49.*

ANCIENT FUNERAL CUSTOMS.—The following is copied from a memoir read by Judge Benson before the New York Historical Society in 1816: "A family in Albany, and from the earliest time, of the name of Wyngaard. The last, in the male line, Lucas Wyngaard, died about sixty years ago, never married, and leaving estate: the invitation to his funeral very general. Those who attended, returned after the interment, as was the usage, to the house of the deceased at the close of the one day, and a number never left it until the dawn of the next. In the course of the night a pipe of wine, stored in the cellar for some years before for the occasion, drank; dozens of papers of tobacco consumed; grosses of pipes broken: scarce a whole decanter or glass left; and, to crown it, the pall-bearers made a bonfire of their scarves on the hearth."

When Philip Livingston of New York died in 1749, his funeral expenses amounted to the sum of five hundred pounds, or \$1,250. On that occasion two ceremonies were performed; one at his manor among his tenantry, and one at his residence in New York. At each place a pipe of wine was spiced for the guests. The bearers at the several places were presented with mourning rings, silk scarfs and handkerchiefs. The eight bearers in New York had each a gift of a monkey spoon (that is having a monkey carved on the handle), and at the manor *all* the tenantry had a gift of a pair of black gloves and a handkerchief. In a later period Gov. Wm. Livingston wrote in the Independent Reflector of 1753, his objections to extravagance in funerals, and his wife, it was said, was the first who ventured as an example of economy, to substitute linen scarfs for the former silk ones.—*Watson's Olden Times of New York*, 308. These customs continued down to a late period. Professor Morse writing in 1789, says: Their funeral ceremonies are equally singular. None attend them without a previous invitation. At the appointed hour they meet

at the neighboring houses or stoops, until the corpse is brought out. Ten or twelve persons are appointed to take the bier all together, and are not relieved. The clerk then desires the gentlemen (for ladies never walk to the grave, nor even attend the funeral, unless of a near relation) to fall into the procession. They go to the grave, and return to the house of mourning in the same order. Here the tables are handsomely set and furnished with cold and spiced wine, tobacco and pipes, and candles, paper, &c., to light them. The conversation turns upon promiscuous subjects.—*Munsell's Annals of Albany*, I, 315.

Robert Townsend, Esq., of Albany, informs us, that he was told by his mother, recently deceased, that a similar custom was observed as late as 1810, after the interment of General Ten Broeck, one of the most respectable citizens of the state of New York. Those invited to the funeral returned to the family mansion, where a cask of Madeira which had been stowed away by the old gentleman many years before, was, in accordance with the ancient usage, broached for the guests; and several hogsheads of Beer were rolled out on the lawn in front of the house for the free use of all comers. It is only proper to add, that this singular custom died out with the last generation.

*Note 39, page 51.*

THIS is a Narragansett word. "After harvest, after hunting, when they enjoy a calm of peace, health, plenty, prosperity, then the Indians have *Niekommo*, a feast, especially in winter. He or she who maketh this *Niekommo*, feast or dance, besides the feasting, of sometimes twenty, fifty, an hundred, yea, I have seen near a thousand persons at one of these feasts,—give a great quantity of money, and all sorts of their goods, according to and sometimes beyond their estate, in several small parcels of goods or money, to the value of eighteen pence, two shillings, or thereabouts, to one person; and that person that receives this gift, upon the receiving it, goes out, and hollows thrice for the health and prosperity of the party that gave it, the master or mistress of the feast. By this feasting and gifts, the devil drives on their worships pleasantly (as he doth all false worships, by such plausible earthly arguments of uniformities, universalities, antiquities, immunities, dignities, rewards unto submitters, and the contrary to refusers) so that they run far and near and ask, *Awaun Nickommit*, Who makes the feast?"—*Roger Williams' Key unto the Language of the Indians of New England*.

*Note 40, page 52.*

NUT signifies "Belly" in the Etchemin dialect; *Notasung* is the corresponding Delaware word; *Nutah*, the Nanticoke. Reference is made to these *Notas*, or *Denotas*, by Van der Donck in the "Great Remonstrance of New Netherland," where they are described as Bags wherewith the Indians measured their corn.—*N. Y. Colonial Documents*, I, 281.



*Note 41, page 53.*

WASS-RA-NEK signifies a Torch; the Algonkin word for Light is, *Waselenican*. DU PONCEAU, *Mem. sur les Langues Indiennes*, p. 265; from *Washsayah*, or *Wacheyek*, the light.—*Dougherty's Chippewa Primer*, p. 47.

*Note 42, page 54.*

THE reader is referred to "Denton's Brief Description of New York:" Gowans, 1845, p. 36, for further particulars respecting the Long Island Indians.

*Note 43, page 57.*

WILHELMUS VAN NIEUWENHUYZEN. The Reformed Dutch church of the city of New York being, in consequence of the incapacity of the Rev. Mr. Drisius, wholly destitute of a minister in 1670, an invitation, or call, was sent to Holland for a clergyman, with a guarantee from Governor Lovelace that he should receive an annual salary of 1000 guilders, equal to \$400, with a house free of rent, and firewood without charge.—*N. Y. Col. Doc.*, III, 189. The Rev. Mr. Nieuwenhuyzen came, in consequence, to New York in the course of the summer of 1671, as colleague to the Rev. Mr. Drisius, who dying in 1672, Mr. Van Nieuwenhuyzen succeeded as sole minister to the church, being the seventh in succession from the Rev. Mr. Michaëlius. A few years after, namely in 1675, he had a difficulty with the Rev. Nicholas Van Renselaer, a minister of Albany, who, he asserted, "aloude in ye street," was not "a Lawfull minister nor his admittance at Albany lawfull;" maintaining "afterwards at Mr. Ebbing's, one of the elders," that no one having orders from the Church of England had sufficient authority to be admitted to administer the sacraments (Mr. Van Renselaer having received holy orders from the Rt. Rev. John Earle, Bishop of Salisbury, 1663-1665). The matter begat such excitement that it was brought before the governor and council on the 25th September. On that occasion, Mr. Van Renselaer exhibited proofs of his having been chaplain to the Dutch ambassador at London, and afterwards minister to the Dutch church at Westminster, and lecturer at St. Margaretts Loathbury, London. Mr. Van Nieuwenhuyzen was thereupon called on to declare whether a minister ordained in England by a bishop, be not qualified to administer the sacraments. The consideration of the case was resumed by the council on the 30th, when Jeronimus Ebbing and Peter Stoutenburg, elders; Jacob Teunisse Kay, Reyneer Willemse, Gerritt Van Tright, Isaac Van Vleck, deacons of the church at New York, appeared with their minister before the board. Mr. Van Nieuwenhuyzen "rather justified himself in his answer;" but he and his church officers finally considered it most prudent to yield to Governor Andros, and to admit, "That

a Minister ordayned in England by the Bishops is every way capable, &c."—*N. Y. Council Min.*, III, 54–59. Smith in his *History of New York*, erroneously calls this clergyman, "Niewenhyt, minister of the church at Albany," and then draws equally erroneous references from the dispute above referred to. Gideon Schaets was minister of the Reformed Dutch church at Albany at the time and for several years after.—*N. Y. Doc. Hist.*, 8vo, III, 878. Equally erroneous is another statement, that Mr. Van Nieuwenhuyzen retired to Brooklyn in 1676. Mr. Van Nieuwenhuyzen continued in charge at New York until his death, which took place in that city on the 17th February, 1681. Annekie Mauritz, his widow, survived him. It is clear, from the evidence of Mr. Wooley, that Mr. Van Nieuwenhuyzen was an accomplished scholar, whilst from the same evidence it is also clear, that in his ministry he sometimes exhibited more zeal than charity.

*Note 44, page 57.*

LORD GEORGE RUSSELL was the youngest son of William 5th Earl and 1st Duke of Bedford, and brother of the celebrated Lord William Russell who was beheaded in 1683. He was graduated at Magdalen college, Oxford, on the 4th February, 1666–7, when he was created Master of Arts. After making the tour of Europe he entered the army, and came to America. He was in Boston, and presented with the freedom of that city in 1680, as we find by the following entry in the Records: "4th February, 1679–80. It is ordered that the hon. George Russell, Esq., now resident with us in Boston, be admitted to the freedom of the corporation, if he please to accept thereof." He accepted of it and took the oath 13th February following, before the governor and assistants. He was in garrison as an ensign, at Albany, about the year 1687, and in the city of New York in 1689; when Captain Baxter and he being "known to be Roman Catholics, were for that reason by the Lt. Gov. [Nicholson] and Council to avoid all jealousies, sent not only out of the garrisons, but even out of the Province." He married Mary, daughter and heir of Mr. Pendleton; and died in the year 1692, leaving issue one son, who died unmarried.—*Wiffen's Hist. of the House of Russell*, II, 223, 224; *Brydges' Collins*, sub titulo "Bedford;" *Rec. of the Col. of the Mass. Bay*, V, 264; *Hutchinson's Hist. of Mass.*, Salem ed., I, 299; *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, III, 640, IV, 132; *N. Y. Council Min.*, IV, 54.

*Note 45, page 58.*

FREDERICK PHILIPSE is said to have been a native of East Friesland. He was born in the year 1625, and immigrated to New Netherland about the year 1658, being by trade a carpenter. After his arrival here, he was employed in that capacity for some time in the public service, both at Bergen and at Esopus. In 1660 he embarked in trade, as appears by the public Records:

"20th Sept., 1660. It being proposed in Council by the Honble Director General on behalf of Frederick Philipsen, his Honor's late carpenter, that said Frederick Philipsen is disposed to make a voyage to Virginia with some merchandize, if the company's sloop be hired to him, &c."—*N. Y. Col. MSS.*, XI, 416; *Alb. Rec.*, XIV, 69; XXIV, 415.

A few years after this he married Margaret Hardenbroeck, the widow of Peter Rudolfus, a woman who was an active trader among the Indians; with whom he acquired some property, which may be said to have laid the foundation of his fortune;\* for he soon became the wealthiest merchant in New York. He was appointed one of the aldermen of that city in 1675, and in September of the same year was sworn one of the council of Governor Andros. He continued to hold a seat in that body twenty-three years, with the exception of the brief administration of Jacob Leisler, which he opposed. When Kidd and Red sea pirates flourished in New York, Frederick Philipse became implicated like many others, in that illegal trade, and was censured by the authorities in England. Finding himself in bad odor, he resigned his seat in the council in 1698. Mr. Philipse acquired large tracts of land in Westchester county, N. Y., which were erected in the year 1693, into the manor of Philipsborough, where he was buried in 1702, in the 78th year of his age. His second wife was Catherine Van Cortland, widow of John Dervall.

*Note 46, page 60.*

SKATING GROUNDS OF NEW YORK.—Skating has been always a favorite exercise in New York, though we must say, that men and women are no longer seen "as it were flying upon their skates from place to place with marketing upon their Heads and Backs." The Kolck or Collect, a sheet of fresh water which covered the ground now occupied by the halls of justice in Centre street, and all that neighborhood, communicated in ancient times with Lespinard's pond and meadows, lying between North Moore and Green street, near the west end of what is at present Canal street. This was the great skating ground of the last century, where the gallants of the hour displayed, as a quaint writer expresses it, "theire graceful caracoles and pirouettes," ever and anon skimming at pleasure from one collection of water to the other, under the bridge which connected upper with lower Broadway. There WILLIAM the fourth, late King of England, might be seen when "*a Middy*," attached to the flag ship of Rear-Admiral Digby, attended by superior officers, trying his "tacks" on the slippery ice, in the winter of 1781-2. Tradition hath it, that a stratagem had been planned by certain of WASHINGTON's men to capture this royal scion of the house of Hanover, and thereby secure a valuable prize, while enjoying himself

\* The marriage contract between these parties is on record in the Minutes of the Orphan Court, City Hall, New York. The published pedigree of the family is incorrect, in many particulars, as regards its founder in America.

in his healthful exercise on the Collect pond. It is further said that the project had well nigh succeeded. Seemingly in anticipation of that success, one of the American papers wrote: "The boy William Henry Guelph, lately arrived at New York, will perhaps soon be in our power. In that event we shall not visit the sins of the father on the child, but send him home to his mother."

But those times have passed away, and not a pair of those feet which now daily promenade, in patent leather boots, past the Hospital at the head of Pearl street, has ever skated on the Collect or Lespinard's meadows. I have myself, adds Mr. Gowans, seen people skating between Washington market and Jersey city. To the spectators on shore, the skaters whilst whirling about on the river, did not appear larger than a good sized turkey in the act of flapping his wings; and I have heard that journeys have been performed on skates between New York and Albany.

Modern improvements have driven skating "out of town." When we were lads, says the editor of the *N. Y. Times* and *Messenger*, the nearest skating pond was on Stuyvesant's meadows, which then lay east of the Third avenue, and spread away from Eighth street to the river. Next to these, but further out, was Cato's pond, nearly up to the old shot-tower. These were fine large skating ponds in our eyes, but so terribly far away, that we made our preparations for going to them as if for a serious journey. Our pet place, however, was smaller, but handier. It was a pond at the corner of Thirteenth street and Broadway, nearly a square large. A block and pump maker's shanty, built on piles, stood in one edge of it. Why it was built there, we have, in youth, often endeavored to imagine, and after much patience of philosophising, came to the conclusion that it was for convenience, and to try whether his pumps would draw water before he sent them away to be put down in the old-fashioned wells at the street corners.

Accommodation for skaters is, we are happy to record the fact, now provided at the public expense. A skating pond of about twenty acres large, admirably planned for comfort and adapted for the purpose, has been laid out in the Central Park, where young men have an opportunity of indulging in this healthy exercise free from danger. Instead of trudging away on foot for miles, as their fathers had to do to get at the skating place, the youth of the present day have but to step into one of the avenue cars and bowl off to the Central Park, strap their skates, and cut carlicues till their young legs have had enough of it.

But don't let those merry scamps of boys altogether monopolize the fun. Let the girls mount the swift skate also. It is just as healthy for them; and what a charming thing it will be to see five hundred cherry-cheeked, healthy beauties—goddesses in crinoline and mortals in plumptitudinous loveliness—gliding, whirling, and now and then sitting down, without exactly intending it, on the slippery ice. Let the ladies patronise the Central Park skating pond. They can make themselves adorable enough in Polish skating costume, to drive all the men and boys in New York mad as March hares. Let them remember,

too, that the police arrangements for order, propriety and comfort at the pond, are perfect, and a lady can enjoy herself there with as absolute comfort as at the opera.

*Note 47, page 61.*

GEORGE HEATHCOTE, the Quaker captain. The earliest instance that we find on record of a Quaker commanding a ship is in *N. Y. Col. Documents*, II, 461, where it stated that such a vessel arrived in the port of New Amsterdam on the 20th October, 1661, and refused to "strike to the port, being a quaker." The ship mentioned in the text was the *Hopewell*. She was commanded by George Heathcot "of Rattliffe in the county of Middlesex, Eng." (*N. Y. Deed Book*, IV, 349), a sturdy Quaker, who "on the first of the sixth month 1672," being owner and commander of a ship, was imprisoned by Governor Bellingham of Massachusetts, "for delivering him a letter and not putting of his hat."—*Besse's Sufferings of the Quakers*, II, 259. Not encouraged by this reception, he seems to have subsequently turned his face to New York, from which port he sailed for England in August, 1675.—*N. Y. Council Min.*, III, part ii, 46. He returned the following year, having chartered the ship John and Mary of Weymouth, and purchased land in New York "above the smith's garden," through which a street 25 feet wide was ordered to be opened in 1686.—*N. Y. Council Min.*, V, 146, 151. He was master of the "pink Hopewell" in 1679, which vessel cleared for London, July 17, 1680 (*Orders and Warrants*, XXXII, 21, 26, 94); and in this voyage it was that he was accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Wooley. The pink Hopewell, George Heathcote, master, cleared from New York again for London, 23d June, 1681 (*N. Y. Pass Book*, p. 4), on which occasion he carried William Dyre, the collector of New York, a prisoner to England by order of the Court of Assize. Besse says, George Heathcot was fined in London in 1683 for refusing to bear arms.—*Opus sup. cit.*, I, 462. We find him again in New York in 1685, in 1688, and in 1691. In 1688 he was master of the ship Yorke.—*N. Y. Deed Book*, VIII, 208. He subsequently settled in Bucks county, Penn. It has been stated that he died unmarried in New York in 1685; but this is clearly erroneous. Mr. Heathcote married the daughter of Samuel Groom of New Jersey.—*N. Y. Council Min.*, V, 71. His daughter married John Barber of London; he had two sisters, one of whom was Mrs. Hannah Browne, and the other, Mrs. Anne Lupton; and he died in November, 1710. By his will on file in the Surrogate's office, New York, and bearing date 14th November, and proved 24th November of that year, he liberates his three negro slaves, gives 500 acres of land near Shrewsbury, N. J., to Thomas Carlton, to be called Carlton settlement, and constitutes his "cozen Caleb Heathcote," residuary legatee.















